Hier spricht Berlin: Radio, Space and Voice in Divided Berlin, 1961–1989

Esme Joan Nicholson

Submitted by Esme Joan Nicholson to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Modern Languages, September 2014

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signature……

Abstract

Radio waves pay no heed to political frontiers and they produce spaces that are entirely different from ideologically delineated spheres. Despite jamming campaigns, the broadcasting space of divided Berlin could not be contained by a border cast in concrete from August 1961. This study investigates how radio and radio voices define space in divided Berlin between 1961 and 1989, asking how the space of the different political zones interacts with the mediated spaces of radio, and what kind of other spaces they create at this interface. It also probes to what extent radio subverts the political systems it infiltrates and how it impacts its listeners in both the East and the West. Based upon a chronological selection of radio programmes, features and reports from various broadcasters either side of the Wall, this study offers a different perspective on a city that has been examined at length by literature, film and the arts, namely via sound and the act of listening. Remarkably, listening does not feature as the primary approach for the majority of existing research on radio in Berlin; instead there is a widespread preference for written sources. This study's theoretical approach is informed by Henri Lefebvre, Edward Soja and Jürgen Habermas in order to tackle the complex and unique spatial dimension of two political systems in one, albeit divided space, served by numerous radio stations from both systems.

Following chapter one's exposition on space, chapter two comprises the first case study and sets the scene: charting radio reactions to the building of the Wall, it explores the spaces and voices of news and how they map a fast transitioning space. Chapter three analyses a much more considered rendering of space in the guise of the media event that constitutes John F. Kennedy's visit to Berlin in 1963. It illustrates how the day was very much an audio event, and how by the end of the visit, West Berlin was claimed not only as the United States' Berlin, but as RIAS' Berlin. Chapter four investigates spaces that are much more intimate: the discursive space produced by arguably Berlin's most enduring radio voice of the period, Friedrich Luft. Chapter five, by contrast, considers voices that remain silent until the late eighties when a cross-border collaboration between the anti-establishment in both West and East Berlin creates a broadcasting space in which the burgeoning GDR opposition may let their voices be heard. The show, *Radio Glasnost*, opens up the GDR's tightly controlled media space and achieves a degree of freedom of speech. The nature of divided Berlin's spaces – whether media space, city space or political space – and the impact they have on the disembodied radio voice (and vice versa) has significant implications for mnemonic discourse. Consequently, this study concludes with detailed recommendations for further research on mediated memory that draws upon and develops the findings of this research.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Ulrike Zitzlsperger and Dr. Fiona Handyside for their guidance, steadfast support and dedication to a fruitful, thought-provoking and thoroughly enjoyable three-year conversation. I am grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for generously funding this project with the Digital Humanities and Technology in Culture Doctoral Scholarship. I am also indebted to a number of archivists including Angela Mehner and Anna Pfitzenmaier at the Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv in Babelsberg, Maja Pyka and Martin Baumgärtel at Deutschlandradio Kultur, Elgin Helmstaedt at the Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Petra Söllner at the Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft as well as Dagmar Hovestädt, head of press at the Behörde des Bundesbeauftragten für die Stasi-Unterlagen. I am also much obliged to Roland Jahn, Ilona Marenbach and Dieter Rulff for taking the time to give me interviews, and to Professor Andreas Daum for providing me with an advance copy of his latest publication. I would also like to thank my father for his interest and helpful comments. Finally, thank you John-Erik for listening and for being my sounding board.

Verehrte An- und Abwesende, wenn Ihr den Rundfunk höret, so denkt auch daran, wie die Menschen in den Besitz dieses wunderbaren Werkzeuges der Mitteilung gekommen sind. Der Urquell aller technischen Errungenschaften ist die göttliche Neugier und der Spieltrieb des bastelnden und grübelnden Forschers und nicht minder die konstruktive Phantasie des technischen Erfinders.

— Albert Einstein, 1930.[*]

[*] Albert Einstein, Excerpt from his speech at the opening of the seventh Deutsche Funkausstellung und Phonoschau in Berlin on 22 August 1930. http://www.einstein-website.de/z_biography/redefunkausstellung.html [accessed 23 August 2014].

LIST OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

'Hier spricht Berlin'[1] were the opening words of the Soviets' first radio broadcast from Haus des Rundfunks just eleven days after the end of the Battle of Berlin on 2 May and less than a week after Germany surrendered on 8 May 1945. Within a matter of months, other Allied voices began campaigning for their own interests over the Berlin ether.[2] In February 1946, the Americans launched Drahtfunk im Amerikanischen Sektor (known also as DIAS, the wired relay service that preceded RIAS) and in August 1946, the British opened a Berlin studio of their Hamburg-based station, Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk which later became Sender Freies Berlin (SFB). All three radio stations were broadcasting in German, and all three claimed to speak for Berlin.[3] By 1961, when the city's divisions were reinforced with barbed wire and concrete, these radio voices were well established.

This thesis examines how radio, and the voices it transmits, defines space in divided Berlin between 1961 and 1989 and asks to what extent the radio wave's ability to transcend borders subverted the political systems it infiltrated. In selecting and analysing a wide variety of radio features from various broadcasters on both sides of the Iron Curtain, it investigates the impact radio and its voices had on a compromised space, with a view to offering an alternative reading – or rather 'hearing' – of the city. In particular, this study aims to draw attention to the act of listening and demonstrate how valuable the consideration of sound is across a number of disciplines and fields within the humanities, not least for radio research which, to date, has been somewhat remiss in the practice of close listening. Divided Berlin's unique political spaces are further complicated by mismatched and unruly radio spaces; even though the vast majority of East Berliners and GDR citizens could not physically access West Berlin from 1961 to 1989, some 80% of GDR citizens were able to tune in

[1] See Fritz Lothar Büttner, *Das Haus des Rundfunks in Berlin* (Berlin: Buchreihe des SFB, 1965), p. 63.

[2] The Western Allies had already set up radio stations in their sectors of defeated Germany. The British went on air on 4 May 1945 in Hamburg and the Americans started broadcasting in Munich on 12 May 1945. The French set up Südwestfunk in Baden-Baden and Radio Saarbrücken later in 1946. When the Western Allies arrived in Berlin, attempts were made to cooperate with the Soviets already broadcasting from Masurenallee in Charlottenburg, but the Soviet's eventual offer of only one hour of daily airtime for all three Allies proved that a joint Allied radio station was untenable. See Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater: Cultural and Intellectual Life in Berlin, 1945-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 107-126.

[3] Upon Germany's surrender on 8 May 1945, the Allies banned the Germans from publishing or broadcasting anything themselves, and immediately took control of the media.

to Western radio stations.[4] As a result, many East Berliners will possess memories of West Berlin that are entirely mediated and, therefore, entirely 'prosthetic'.[5] West Berliners, by contrast, will potentially have memories of East Berlin that are both real and mediated.

(i) Research Questions

The interdisciplinary scope of this project gives rise to a wide variety of research questions, particularly about the different spaces under investigation and their correlation with one another. Probing the nature of radio space becomes a more complex and more interesting question when applied to Berlin during the era 1961–1989. In essence, this thesis asks what these spaces are, how they interact and to what extent radio technology and radio voices define the divided city and its citizens. Although the medium of radio is at the very heart of this study, the concept of space is ever present because divided Berlin is an unavoidably spatial subject matter. As a result, consideration of several spatial theories is required in order to approach the source material especially because some spatial concepts benefit the examination of sound.

Chapter one comprises the key theoretical component of this thesis and assesses space in terms of city, media and politics. Since this project is primarily about radio, chapter one also addresses the visual bias in the spatial turn with reference to Marshall McLuhan's notion of acoustic space, that it has no point of view and that electronic media offer a perspective that is not ocularcentric. Being careful to avoid the trappings of the technological determinism of which McLuhan has been accused, chapter one explores how his concept of orality aids a consolidated approach to both radio and space. The complexities, functions and effects of city space are then explored using the theories of Henri Lefevbre and Edward Soja. This approach categorises the concrete, physical space of Berlin as defined by the Wall, as Firstspace or perceived space. Mental maps and imagined realities of real space are considered Secondspace or conceived space, and Thirdspace is a combination of the two, also known as lived space. Chapter one investigates which of these spaces the radio of divided Berlin produces. Mediaspace is explored via theories specific to radio, asking how radio technology and the nature of the

[4] René Wolf, *The Undivided Sky: the Holocaust on East and West German radio in the 1960s* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 154.
[5] Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

radio wave affect space. Finally, political space is considered with reference to Jürgen Habermas' work on the public sphere.

Chapters two to five comprise the primary research, undertaken in the form of case studies to test the theories explored in chapter one and provide answers to my research questions. These case studies are based upon a range of sources and events from the period, the selection of which is discussed further in section (v) of this introduction. Chapter two sets the scene for the spaces this thesis investigates. 'Changing Space: The Wall as News Event' charts the re-mapping of the city via radio reactions to the construction of the Wall, probing what effect the sudden emergence of a wall had on the city's sounds and acoustic spaces.[6] As this study's prime example of a major news event, chapter two also explores the space of news, specifically how this media format uses, maps and produces space.

Chapter three considers a media event, the spatial significance of which differs greatly from a news event. 'Producing Space: 'Kennedy' the Media Event' takes all seven hours of host broadcasters' SFB and RIAS coverage of John F. Kennedy's 1963 visit to West Berlin, exploring the challenges of live broadcasting, the spatial significance of the convoy, and asking to what extent the President's procession lays claim to West Berlin, as well as the street space claimed by the crowds. With reference to Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz' seminal study of media events and their stake in pre-planned historical ceremonies, this chapter charts the spatial implications of the anticipation of the event, the media event itself and the East's attempt to treat it as a non-event. Arguing against previous assertions about Kennedy's visit being a predominantly visual event at which the new medium television excelled,[7] this chapter demonstrates that it was also profoundly acoustic, that Berlin – its streets lined with radio speakers and jubilant, cacophonous crowds – became a radio receiver of sorts, and that

[6] The launch of Studio am Stacheldraht – an entirely new radio station of sorts – indicates the extent to which the building of the Wall instantly and significantly changed the acoustic space of Berlin. Studio am Stacheldraht was the West's mobile 'radio station' consisting of vehicles with studios inside and large loudspeakers on the roof. These vehicles parked on the Western side of the Wall and broadcast to the border troops on the other side. The border troops were targeted because they were not allowed to listen to Western radio stations. See Eckart D. Stratenschulte 'Lass Euch nicht verhetzen! Der Lautsprecherkrieg in Berlin', in *Der Sound des Jahrhunderts: Geräusche, Töne, Stimmen 1889 bis heute*, ed. by Gerhard Paul and Ralph Schock (Berlin: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2013), pp. 432-435.

[7] See Andreas Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schönigh, 2003). Daum has since adjusted his view on the visual importance of Kennedy's visit, heralding it one of the acoustic highlights of the era. See also Andreas Daum, 'Ich bin ein Berliner: John F. Kennedys Ansprache vor dem Schöneberger Rathaus in Berlin', in *Sound des Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Paul and Schock, 2013, pp. 442-45.

ultimately the resounding memory of the event is the declaration ‘Ich bin ein Berliner’. Kennedy’s words, which immediately became a lasting media soundbite, nod to the notion of voice and its detailed treatment in the following chapter.

Chapter four ‘Discursive Space: The Voice of Friedrich Luft’ focuses on voice and, using Paddy Scannell’s concept of ‘broadcast talk’, explores the spatial significance of the period’s most renowned and most enduring radio voice, that of Friedrich Luft. Drawing upon over four decades worth of his broadcasting work, this chapter asks how Luft’s voice impacts Berlin’s divided media spaces and, conversely, how those spaces affect his radio voice. Consideration of Friedrich Luft’s radio voice adds valuable insight to our knowledge about the media spaces of divided Berlin. Like the city, the radio voice is divided and while Luft’s voice is omnipresent, his body is as absent as those of East Berliners in the West. By demonstrating how the radio voice strives to make up for these absences, it is possible to reveal how the ‘disembodied’ radio voice generates prosthetic memory, the implications of which are considered more fully in the conclusion to this thesis and point to potential further research that, as this study illustrates, can only be considered following a detailed examination of space. Finally, this chapter’s examination of the appeal of Friedrich Luft on both sides of the Wall and its assessment of his responses to specific political events aims to add to our understanding of the era. The long-term impact of Luft’s constant radio presence not only contrasts with the events examined in chapters two and three, but it also demonstrates how the seemingly apolitical weekly cultural musings of a theatre critic are still political in the divided city.

Chapter five, entitled ‘Resisting Space: *Radio Glasnost*’ is the final case study. It tells the hitherto untold story of *Radio Glasnost*, a one-hour, monthly radio programme broadcast by West Berliners and GDR exiles for East German citizens, from West Berlin, featuring radio reports made covertly in East Berlin by GDR citizens, smuggled over the border by the producers' contacts. Aired on West Berlin's first private radio station between 1987 and 1989, it could be heard throughout East Berlin and in two-thirds of the GDR. Drawing upon a variety of primary sources including tapes, press reactions, Stasi files, *Samizdat* produced to promote it, production notes and interviews conducted with its former founders specifically for this project, this case study not only analyses

the show's output but also considers the two operations launched by the Stasi[8] to jam the station, successfully in part.

This chapter argues that *Radio Glasnost* is exceptional in spatial terms, and demonstrates to what extent it is an example of Soja's interpretation of Lefebvre's *espace vécu* – a site of resistance – somewhere between Second- and Thirdspace.[9] It also illustrates how, from a Habermasian perspective, *Radio Glasnost* grants GDR citizens space they do not have access to within the GDR – a private sphere, in the form of a commercial, market economy driven radio station – from where they may criticise the State that constitutes the GDR's entire public and private, non-democratic sphere.

My thesis concludes with a consideration of space, voice and mediated memory, probing how radio shapes memories, both unwittingly at the time of original broadcast and years later via the broadcasting of anniversary features. Divided Berlin's media spaces have produced mediated memories of an unparalleled and extraordinary nature. Drawing upon the key findings from this project's case studies and its theoretical approaches, the conclusion considers to what extent radio versions of a city attach themselves to listeners as 'prosthetic memories' of a place many 'experienced' solely via its broadcasters. In addition to examining how memories may have been adopted across Berlin's spatial divide, the more established phenomenon of how they are adopted across temporal space, from generation to generation, is considered. To illustrate the latter, this concluding chapter assesses how radio has marked the various major anniversaries of the events explored in chapters two and three, both having recently bridged the fifty year mark. It also considers how Berlin's post-Wende radio stations remember the great radio man, Friedrich Luft, and how they mark the spatial shift towards which *Radio Glasnost* contributed, namely the fall of the Wall. As the conclusion to this thesis, my exploration of memory is by no means intended as a comprehensive study, but rather aims to highlight the legacy and potency of radio's impact on the spaces of Berlin and

[8] The GDR's secret police, the Stasi (or Staatssicherheit) sought to crush all opposition to the SED, both from within East Germany and from outside it. Founded in 1950, the Stasi kept the East German population under close surveillance, relying on information from its vast network of *Inoffizielle Mitarbeiter*, citizens willing or forced to inform upon their neighbours and colleagues. See Ilko-Sascha Kowalczuk, *Stasi konkret: Überwachung und Repression in der DDR* (Munich: Beck, 2013) and Karsten Dümmel and Melanie Piepenschneider, eds., *Was war die Stasi? Einblicke in das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit der DDR* (Berlin: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2013).

[9] Edward Soja in André Jansson and Amanda Lagerkvist, eds., *Strange Spaces: Explorations into Mediated Obscurity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 37.

its radio listeners. Nonetheless, the conclusion illustrates how further research into radio has the potential to contribute to the discourse on mnemonic culture, as well as the ongoing discourse on space.

Although this thesis is a study of radio, space and voice in divided Berlin, its timeframe, 1961–1989, reflects the divisions as marked and made visible – and audible – by the Wall. There are several reasons for focussing solely on this time period. First, the vast majority of research on German radio during the Cold War treats the period leading up to the building of the Wall.[10] These include the studies of Alexander Badenoch,[11] Maral Herbst,[12] Thomas Lindenberger[13] as well as accounts by Fritz Lothar Büttner[14] and Wolfgang Bauernfeind.[15] Research on radio during the period 1961–1989 does not consider Berlin's radio picture as a whole, but rather focuses on specific genres or shorter time-periods of one or two particular broadcasters. Equally, the divisions of Berlin as marked by the Wall have been explored through film, literature and architecture, but rarely via radio. Second, the Wall did not fundamentally alter the divisions put in place in 1945 and confirmed in 1949, but it changed their nature considerably. From 1961 Berlin's Firstspace was not only divided but also inaccessible for its citizens east of the border. Third, the space created by radio – which granted East Berliners Secondspace, even Thirdspace access to the Firstspace denied them by the GDR authorities – has far-reaching implications for further research on mediated memory: East Berliners will have memories of West Berlin while the Wall was up, without ever having been there. Those 'memories' formed by radio differ from those formed by television. While viewers sit down to watch television, radio listeners are usually engaged in another activity in a variety of places other than the living room. Unlike watching television, listening to radio is considered a secondary

[10] Definitions of the Cold War's exact timeframe vary, but for the purpose of this study it refers to 1945-1990.
[11] Alexander Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins: West German Radio across the 1945 Divide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
[12] Maral Herbst, *Demokratie und Maulkorb: Der deutsche Rundfunk in Berlin zwischen Staatsgründung und Mauerbau* (Berlin: Vistas, 2002).
[13] Thomas Lindenberger, 'Divided, but not disconnected: Germany as a border region of the Cold War', in *Divided, but not Disconnected: German Experiences of the Cold War*, ed. by Tobias Hochscherf, Christoph Laucht, and Andrew Plowman (Oxford: Berghahn, 2010), pp. 11-33.
[14] Fritz Lothar Büttner, *Haus des Rundfunks*, 1965.
[15] Wolfgang Bauernfeind, *Tonspuren: Das Haus des Rundfunks in Berlin* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2010).

medium in that it is ancillary to another activity.[16] This not only means that radio is listened to at a wider variety of times of day, but that the act of listening and, in turn, the act of forming 'mediated' memories is less conscious than the act of watching television. The radio listener's mediated 'memories' are therefore likely to be more deep-rooted and less obviously constructed than those formed whilst watching television.

(ii) Radio in Divided Berlin: An Historical Overview

Radio's capacity to organise time with its hourly newscasts and repetitive schedules was utilised by the occupying forces in defeated Germany in 1945. As Alexander Badenoch observes, the Allies' new radio stations lent a 'sense of structure to the day',[17] a new structure that aimed to make a very clean break with the immediate past. Although the term *Stunde Null* is no longer considered accurate, in part because so many former National Socialist functionaries filtered effortlessly into the power structures of post-war Germany, one can certainly speak of a *Stunde Null* in radio, as radio historian Konrad Dussel avers.[18] The sudden silence of ceasefire and surrender was echoed by a brief radio silence as Germany's Reichssender were forced off air.[19] This radio *Stunde Null* was then consolidated by the new voices filling the airwaves. New Allied-controlled radio stations such as Berliner Rundfunk, NWDR and Radio München, and initially these radio stations alone, would become the minute-hand on Germany's Allied-controlled watch. They were to mark and keep the new time, which in Berlin, began with the words: 'Achtung, Achtung. Hier spricht Berlin, hier spricht Berlin – auf der Wellenlänge 365. Wir beginnen unsere Sendung.'[20] Whilst the declaration 'Wir beginnen unsere Sendung' is rather an understatement in the circumstances, it was probably a deliberate attempt to evoke a degree of normality in the midst of the debris and ruins, and satisfy a craving for information among the eerie silence of defeat and total

[16] Hugh Chignell, *Key Concepts in Radio Studies* (London: Sage, 2009), pp. 101-02.
[17] Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, 2008, p.34.
[18] Konrad Dussel, *Deutsche Rundfunkgeschichte* (Constance: UVK-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999), p. 181.
[19] For further reading on Reichssender Flensburg, the last National Socialist radio station forced off air, see Gerhard Paul, 'Seit Mitternacht schweigen nun an allen Fronten die Waffen: Das Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs im Radio', in *Sound des Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Paul and Schock, 2013, pp. 302-05.
[20] Peter Pragal and Eckart D. Stratenschulte, *Der Monolog der Lautsprecher und andere Geschichten aus dem geteilten Berlin* (Munich: dtv, 1999), p. 24.

devastation.[21] Allied-controlled radio stations in the immediate post-war period were primarily an information service that aired direct appeals to doctors, nurses and even bakers to make themselves available, announced the occasional tram and bus times, or made public where rations were being distributed.[22] They also communicated the regulations of the occupying forces and broadcast the names of soldiers who had not yet returned and children who had gone missing in the chaos of war. These *Suchmeldungen* were regularly aired until the early 1960s.[23] Berlin's first post-War broadcast, aired on 13 May 1945, made quite clear the identity of the Berlin that was speaking. By playing all four national anthems of the victorious Allies, Berlin's 'voice' was no longer a National Socialist voice. Less clear, initially, was that this station – Berliner Rundfunk – was the voice of the Soviet Union, albeit enunciated by Germans employed at the new station.

This first radio hour not only marked a new era, but also, quite literally, new territory.[24] Significantly, this very radio broadcast reveals the extraordinary spatial situation of post-war Berlin and how it was complicated further by listening zones that bore no resemblance to the city's four separate Allied-controlled sectors. It was spoken from a studio in the recently captured Haus des Rundfunks located in Charlottenburg in the British sector. It was broadcast using an OB vehicle (outside broadcasting vehicle or *Ü-Wagen*) positioned next to radio transmitters still damaged from the war in Tegel in the French sector. But listeners at the time would not have known these details; it would have been received in all four Allied sectors across the city, and despite the musical declaration of four victorious nations, it was in fact an entirely Soviet broadcast, in German. This confusing use and infiltration of spaces is a taster of the 'listening situation'[25] that was to develop in divided Berlin, and the Soviets used it shrewdly, reporting on the unconditional surrender and the victory

[21] Such silence is palpable in Anonyma, *Eine Frau in Berlin*, (Frankfurt: 2003). The diary entry from 27 April 1945 which describes the advancing Soviet soldiers opens with the description 'Es begann mit Stille. Allzu stille Nacht'.
[22] Diller, Gehring, Hall et al., *Was Sie über Rundfunk wissen sollten*, 1997, p. 332.
[23] The sound of the *Suchdienst* punctuates Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *Die Ehe der Maria Braun* as much as the din of re-construction. For further reading on the *Suchdienst*, See Hans-Ulrich Wagner, 'Radiomeldungen: von Seewetterberichten, Suchmeldungen und Verkehrsnachrichten' in *Sound des Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Paul and Schock, 2013, pp. 332-37.
[24] According to Pragal and Stratenschulte, the Soviet's first radio broadcast lasted an hour. See Pragal and Stratenschulte, *Monolog*, 1999, pp. 302-05.
[25] Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, 2008, p. 9.

celebrations in Moscow,[26] but avoiding issues such as reparations and returning POWs from the USSR.[27]

Anxious to claim their own listening zones as well as their military sectors of occupation, the British and the Americans soon set up their own German-language radio stations in Berlin, as they had already done in Hamburg and Munich respectively. In Berlin the Americans launched DIAS (Drahtfunk im Amerikanischen Sektor), later RIAS (Rundfunk im Amerikanischen Sektor) and the British set up NWDR (Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk), later Sender Freies Berlin (SFB). Paper shortages in the immediate years after the war and a *Publikationsverbot* preventing German citizens from establishing a press of their own boosted the importance of radio. In its summary of their German-Austrian Service, the 1948 BBC Year Book[28] reveals the relative difficulties involved in listening to the radio, due to a rationed and sporadic electricity supply and lack of working radio sets.[29] Gradually, however, confiscated radios were re-distributed, vehicles with speakers were sent around the city, and a wide-scale replacement of damaged radios began.[30]

The worsening relations between the USSR and the West were played out among Berlin's radio stations, which remained under Allied suzerainty until 1949 in the Soviet Zone, and 1950 in the Western zones. Conflict was not confined to the airwaves. During the blockade and ensuing airlift of 1948–1949, French occupying forces in Tegel demolished the transmission towers used by Berliner Rundfunk, allowing more space for the airlift planes to land, but also dealing a powerful blow to the Soviet sector radio station whose signal remained weak for the rest of the year, giving RIAS and NWDR-Berlin a serious listener advantage in a period of heightened tension.[31] It was during the airlift that RIAS had its first hit with a cabaret show called *Die Insulaner*. Originally conceived as a one-off programme, writer and pianist Günter Neumann and his team of *Insulaner* kept up the morale of the West throughout the blockade with various numbers such as 'Der Insulaner verliert die Ruhe nicht' and the ever-

[26] Pragal and Stratenschulte, *Monolog*, 1999, p. 24.
[27] Ansgar Diller, Günter Gehring, Peter Christian Hall et al., *Was Sie über Rundfunk wissen sollten: Materialien zum Verständnis eines Mediums* (Berlin: Vistas, 1997), p. 374.
[28] *BBC Year Book* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1948), pp. 117-19.
[29] For further descriptions of radio listening during this time see Curt Riess, *Berlin Berlin 1945–1953* (Berlin: Non Stop-Bücherei, 1953), pp. 132-43.
[30] Riess, *Berlin Berlin*, 1953, p. 331.
[31] See Pragal and Stratenschulte, *Monolog*, 1999, p. 26 for the full anecdote of the French General Jean Ganeval's contribution to the Airlift.

changing ‘Sehn'se das ist Berlin’. The show proved so popular it ran until 1964 and sketches such as ‘Jenosse Funzionär’ that parodied the SED drew in faithful listeners from East as well as West Berlin, confirming RIAS’ strong position on the radio dial. With entertainment programmes such as *Die Insulaner* and the short satirical dispatches *Varady funkt dazwischen* and *Das Sandmännchen* that lampooned the Soviet occupying forces, RIAS outshone the more brazen propaganda of Berliner Rundfunk’s *Sendungen für West-Deutschland.* General Lucias D. Clay had launched the counter-propaganda effort ‘Operation Talk Back’ in October 1947, marking the end of the Western Allied endeavours to cooperate with the Soviets. By the end of the Blockade in May 1949, 91% of Berlin households tuned into RIAS first when they switched on the radio. [32] Listeners preferred the entertainment offered by RIAS to the education and instruction in Socialist ideology offered by East German stations. By the 1960s and with the launch of DT64, the East had realised that entertainment was an effective propaganda tool.[33]

Following the founding of the German Democratic Republic in October 1949, the Soviets handed to the GDR government all property it had seized in the last four years. This included Haus des Rundfunks, which – situated in Charlottenburg – had become a Soviet enclave in the middle of the British sector. But in 1952 the British military police demanded it be handed over and that Berliner Rundfunk retreat to the Eastern side of the border. Berliner Rundfunk moved to new studios at Adlershof on the city’s eastern edge, and SFB finally moved in to Haus des Rundfunks in 1957.

Under the supervision of German emigrants returning from Moscow, East German radio was integrated into the state, following the Soviet model of centralisation. From 1952, Berliner Rundfunk answered to the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschland (SED) via the Staatliche Rundfunkkomitee rather than directly to the Soviets. Allied control of West Berlin’s radio stations ceased in 1950 with the establishment of the ‘Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland’ (ARD). When

[32] Axel Schildt, ‘Zwei Staaten – eine Hörfunk- und Fernsehnation. Überlegungen zur Bedeutung der elektronischen Massenmedien in der Geschichte der Kommunikation zwischen der Bundesrepublik und der DDR’, in *Doppelte Zeitgeschichte. Deutsch-deutsche Beziehungen 1945- 1990*, ed. by Arndt Bauerkämper, Martin Sabrow and Bernd Stöver, (Bonn: J H W Dietz Nachfolger, 1998), pp. 58-73 (p. 61).
[33] For further reading on competition versus propaganda, see Diller, Gehring, Hall et al., *Was Sie über Rundfunk wissen sollten*, 1997, pp. 364-65.

NWDR-Berlin became SFB in 1953, it was incorporated into the Federal Republic's ARD which functioned as an independent public broadcaster based upon the structures of the licence fee funded model of the BBC. Only RIAS, which was funded by the US State Department, remained under the ultimate control of the Americans until the end of the Cold War.[34]

With the establishment of two states, and their corresponding radio stations on either side of the border, Cold War relations between radio stations went back to being conducted in the ether rather than on the ground.[35] In June 1953, the SED accused RIAS of instigating the workers' uprising in East Berlin on 17 June 1953. As Nicholas J. Schlosser discusses in detail in his PhD thesis, most historians refute the notion that RIAS broadcast coded messages to Western agents in the GDR, but they do believe that RIAS' reporting of the strike-turned-protests brought dissatisfied East German citizens out onto the streets. [36] The radio reaction in the East was the launch of a new programme called 'Die Regierung hat das Wort'.[37] The potential power of Berlin's radio stations was now established and perfectly audible. This power is confirmed in 1961 when radio quite literally moves to the front line in the guise of the Studio am Stacheldraht, the 'westliche Lautsprecherdienst' aimed at the border guards on the other side of the Wall.[38]

The unique media spaces of Berlin are further complicated by the largely unknown presence of secret radio stations, both legal and illegal. In the East, there is only one known example of the latter category: Der Schwarze Kanal*,* a short-lived pirate radio station put on air by the burgeoning GDR opposition of the 1980s.[39] The station pre-produced its material in an apartment in Prenzlauer

---

[34] See Schivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater,* 1998, pp. 107-26.
[35] Herbst, *Demokratie und Maulkorb,* 2001, p. 227.
[36] Nicholas J. Schlosser, *The Berlin Radio War: Broadcasting in Cold War Berlin and the Shaping of Political Culture in Divided Germany, 1945-1961* (Michigan: Proquest, Umi Dissertation Publishing, 2011), pp.254-56.
[37] Diller, Gehring, Hall et al., *Was Sie über Rundfunk wissen sollten*, 1997, p. 380.
[38] Pragal and Stratenschulte, *Monolog,* 1999, p. 37. See chapter two for further consideration of the Studio am Stacheldraht.
[39] *Der Schwarze Kanal* is a deliberately provocative reference to Karl Eduard von Schnitzler's notorious television programme of the same name. Von Schnitzler was one of the GDR's foremost propagandists. After being taken as a prisoner of war by the British in 1944, he worked for the BBC's German service. In 1945 he went to work for NWDR first in Hamburg, then in Cologne. NWDR dismissed him in 1947, accusing him of propagating a communist bias. Von Schnitzler took his broadcasting talent and political convictions to East Berlin where he became a commentator for Berliner Rundfunk and Deutschlandsender. Television is where he made his name and from 1960 until 1989 he presented the popular weekly show *Der Schwarze Kanal* in which he applied propagandistic spin to a selection of western news broadcasts. See Kristin Rieben, 'Burned bridges. The rise and fall of the former BBC journalist Karl-Eduard von

Berg before it was smuggled over the border and broadcast via a pirate station in West Berlin. Pirate radio was illegal on both sides of the border. The Stasi found and arrested the producers before the station could air its fourth programme.[40] Privatisation in the Federal Republic and West Berlin allowed the same model to run legally, and so the monthly programme *Radio Glasnost* aired smuggled material for two years, much to the chagrin of the Stasi (see chapter five). But there were legal, secret stations in the East as well, unbeknown even to the staff of East Berlin's official stations Berliner Rundfunk, Berliner Welle and the GDR national networks, Radio DDR I and II. These officially sanctioned, covert GDR stations – Deutscher Freiheitssender 904 and Deutscher Soldatensender 935 – masqueraded as pirate stations being run by a West German faction of the banned Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD) from the late 1950s to the early 1970s. To some extent this was true; station staff were recruited from the West German KPD, which had been declared an unconstitutional organisation by the Federal Republic's highest court in 1957. Both stations purported to be West German stations, coming from somewhere near Bonn. Deutscher Freiheitssender 904 identified itself as 'der einzige Sender in der Bundesrepublik, der nicht unter Regierungskontrolle steht'.[41] In reality they were broadcast from studios in the districts of Grünau and Königs Wusterhausen, the latter about 20 miles east of Berlin, and they were under 'Regierungskontrolle' albeit not the control of the West German government. Broadcasting positive reports about socialist life in the GDR and scathing criticism of the Adenauer administration, not only did the two stations make sure their presenters spoke with a Rhineland accent, but they faked West German jamming attacks on the station by transmitting their own interference. The stations, which in reality were broadcast covertly by and from the GDR, were not supposed to be received in the GDR. That this was not entirely avoidable is another example of radio space at odds with ideologically and politically marked space.

Schnitzler in East Germany', in *Stimme der Wahrheit: German-Language Broadcasting by the BBC*, ed. by Charmian Brinson and Richard Dove (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), pp. 159-78 and Anna Funder, ‚Von Schni-' in *Stasiland: Stories from behind the Berlin Wall* (London: Granta, 2003), pp. 129-38.

[40] See Fred Kowasch, *Vom schwarzen Kanal zu Radio Glasnost. Die Hörfunkprogramme der DDR-Opposition unterlaufen die staatliche Medienpolitik* (unpublished master's dissertation, Freie Universität, Berlin, 1997).

[41] Jürgen Wilke, 'Radio im Geheimauftrag. Der Deutsche Freiheitssender 904 und der Deutsche Soldatensender 935 als Instrumente des Kalten Krieges', in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Arnold and Classen (Berlin: LinksDruck, 2004), pp. 249-66 (p. 249).

The scope of this thesis is limited to broadcast material from stations whose broadcasts were intended for Berlin, in order to shed light on their influence over the city's spaces. These include the West Berlin stations SFB and RIAS and the East Berlin stations Berliner Rundfunk, Berliner Welle, Deutschlandsender and Radio DDR, but not Radio Berlin International which was broadcast in English and aimed beyond Berlin. The German service of the BBC, which broadcasted several hours of German-language programming to the GDR on a daily basis, does not feature in my work because hardly any of it remains, either on tape or in document form.[42] AFN Berlin does not feature because it was primarily a music station and sidetracks too much from the format of the other stations. Radio Forces Françaises à Berlin (FFB) also does not feature because the station aired programmes produced in France that were aimed primarily at the French military stationed in Berlin.[43] Instead I extend my focus to those stations whose content was co-produced by Berliners from both sides of the Wall, from an underground space of resistance, namely the radio shows Schwarzer Kanal and *Radio Glasnost*, the latter of which dotted its broadcasts with the announcement 'wir funken dazwischen', an assertion that acknowledges the shared nature of this underground space.

(iii) Literature Review

This literature review relates solely to the field of radio in divided Berlin between 1961 and 1989. For the sake of clarity, all other relevant literature pertaining to theory and to the contextual background of each case study is reviewed separately in each chapter.

Research on German radio of the period 1961–1989 is modest in volume and predominantly quantitative in approach. It displays an overriding preference for data-driven accounts of broadcasters' programming structures and policies.[44] This has produced a number of broad, general institutional histories,

---

[42] Richard Dove also laments the BBC's archiving practices and dearth of foreign-language tapes from this era in Charmian Brinson & Richard Dove, *Stimme der Wahrheit: German-Language Broadcasting by the BBC* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), p. xiv.

[43] See Horst Ulrich and Uwe Prell, eds., *Berlin Handbuch: Das Lexikon der Bundeshauptstadt* (Berlin: FAB, 1993), p. 972.

[44] There are similar grievances about research into radio in the Weimar period with Adelheid von Saldern, for instance, bemoaning its status as as 'not very satisfying' and noting how researchers have neglected to consider the medium's 'societal and cultural relevance'. Von Saldern's own work pursues the latter line of enquiry, focussing on *Volk* and *Heimat* culture during the medium's early days, as does Clas Dammann's *Stimme aus dem Äther, Fenster zur Welt: die Anfänge von Radio und Fernsehen in Deutschland* which proffers a substantial analysis of Walther Ruttmann's radio piece *Weekend*.

such as those found in historian Konrad Dussel's comprehensive study *Deutsche Rundfunkgeschichte*, a highly informative overview of almost a century of German radio history. Now in its third edition,[45] Dussel's work is rivalled only in scale by the work of Heide Riedel and Ansgar Diller, Günter Gehring and Peter Christian Hall.[46] These studies rarely consider, let alone evaluate in any detail, the broadcasters' actual output, specifically the radio pieces, features and individual programmes. In recent years, researchers have started to acknowledge the disproportional bias towards quantitative studies, recognising the limits of what facts and statistics alone can reveal about the impact of radio and its voices, be it political, social, cultural or even spatial.

In surveying and evaluating the existing literature, it becomes clear that research into the radio of divided Germany and divided Berlin is only just starting to flourish, not least because much of the archive material has only been available since the fall of the Wall. It is by virtue of timing and the important groundwork assessing the archives' assets already undertaken by Dussel, Riedel, Diller, Gehring and Hall that it is possible to embark upon a more qualitative examination of archival sources. I am not entirely alone at this juncture and qualitative research already exists, notably that of René Wolf and Alexander Badenoch. Their work, however, deals with different timeframes, topographies and topics from my own. Badenoch's study *Voices in Ruins*[47] explores West German radio in the immediate post-war period and its role in the construction of identity, a sense of normality and the development of *Heimat* culture in the FRG. Significantly for my work, he does not consider West Berlin at all because of its 'markedly different […] listening situation',[48] a 'listening situation' explored in detail in chapter one of this thesis. Wolf's 2010 volume *The Undivided Sky*[49] examines how both West and East German radio covered the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem in 1961, and the Auschwitz trials in Frankfurt from 1963 to 1965. Both studies tender detailed analyses of audio sources and are, therefore, useful for my own work in terms of approach and methodology.

---

[45] Konrad Dussel, *Deutsche Rundfunkgeschichte* (Constance: UVK-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999, 2004, 2010).
[46] Heide Riedel, *Lieber Rundfunk: 75 Jahre Hörergeschichte* (Berlin: DRA, 1999) and Diller, Gehring, Hall et al., *Was Sie über Rundfunk wissen sollten*, 1997.
[47] Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins,* 2008.
[48] Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, 2008, p. 9.
[49] Wolf, *Undivided Sky*, 2010.

Surprisingly, the 'close listening'[50] advocated and practiced by Badenoch and Wolf does not feature in the research methods of those other scholars who also express the need to move beyond quantitative, fact-finding radio research. In her 2001 book about radio in Berlin from 1949–1961[51] Maral Herbst asserts that Konrad Dussel's work provides enough of a foundation to commence thorough analysis of the kind of archive material he has already catalogued. Yet Herbst bases her analysis solely on written documents, such as programme files, meeting minutes and trade publications. Audio material is relegated to second place: '[Die] Aufnahmen aus dem Schallarchiv des DRA Potsdam […] dienen jedoch in erster Linie der Ergänzung des schriftlichen Materials'[52] on the grounds that at the time of research, only East German radio was stored at the *Deutsche Rundfunkarchiv* in Potsdam. This has not changed, and West Berlin's radio legacy continues to be stored separately at RBB and DeutschlandRadio. Consideration of tapes from archives in the West as well as the East would add great value to Herbst's research, in particular for her detailed analysis of broadcasting language, which in its audio form would give a sense of tone as well as semantics. Broadcasting language, when scripted, is written for the ear rather than the eye, yet Herbst refers to audio material as *Tondokumente* which translates as 'sound documents'. Herbst's contribution to radio research of this period – a structural comparison of Berliner Rundfunk and SFB based upon close readings of a variety of internal documents from both houses – builds upon Dussel's and Riedel's work, but she does so by reading production minutes and scripts rather than listening to tapes. Today, at the time of writing, the majority of researchers are still exclusively engaged in the former. This thesis diverges from the trend of reading radio documents and focuses on listening to the actual tapes.

Rolf Geserick proffers an explanation for this research phenomenon in his chapter about radio produced during the Honecker years in Arnold and Classen's 2004 volume *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*.[53] Tongue tentatively in cheek, Geserick conjectures that the continued focus on 'Rundfunkpolitik und

[50] Wolf, *Undivided Sky*, 2010, p. 5.
[51] Herbst, *Demokratie und Maulkorb*, 2001.
[52] Herbst, *Demokratie und Maulkorb*, 2001, p. 20.
[53] Klaus Arnold and Christoph Classen, eds., *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda: Radio in der DDR* (Berlin: LinksDruck: 2004).

Rundfunkorganisation'[54] is a reflection of the radio output itself, and that real highlights are few and far between. He does not attempt to prove or disprove this throwaway, but not entirely disingenuous comment by offering listened-to examples in support of one argument or the other. Instead, his chapter serves as another overview of a specific timeframe that, although informative, 'kapituliert leider […] vor den Inhalten',[55] as he himself phrases it. Following suit, Christoph Classen, in his contribution to the recent issue of the journal *Cold War History*[56] dedicated entirely to radio of this period, also finds fault with the dearth of close analyses in radio research but, paradoxically, neglects to acknowledge the tapes as the prime primary source, focussing instead, albeit closely, on *Hörerpost*. This is not to say that listeners' letters are not a valuable source, but it demonstrates further the preference for written documents. Christian Könne deploys listening as a central research method for his exhaustive assessment of GDR radio programmes from the 1960s.[57] The scope of his project is, however, so vast that detailed and close analysis would be a near impossible task. Unlike René Wolf, whose research parameters are considerably narrower allowing for more detail, Könne does not base his analyses on broader theories in order to make clear the relevance of his findings within a wider cultural context. The timeframe of my own project is even broader than Könne's, but its overriding concern with space and voice both provide and demand focus from the selection criteria, which are outlined in the final section of this introduction.

In addition to quantitative research, a number of comparative studies exist. To a certain extent, all research on Cold War broadcasting comprises comparison because of the dualities imposed by the divide between East and West, nowhere more obvious than in divided Berlin. Overtly comparative studies such as those conducted by Herbst, Schildt and Lindenberger, not to mention the majority of articles in the recent issue of *Cold War History*, all detail the propaganda war – or *Ätherkrieg* – between broadcasters, and in the case of

[54] Rolf Geserick, 'Vom Erziehungsinstrument zum Konsumgut? Zur Entwicklung des DDR-Rundfunks in der Honecker-Zeit', in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Klaus Arnold and Christoph Classen, 2004, pp. 151-62.
[55] Rolf Geserick, 'Vom Erziehungsinstrument zum Konsumgut?', in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Arnold and Classen, 2004, pp. 151-62 (p. 160).
[56] Christoph Classen, 'Captive audience? GDR radio in the mirror of listeners' mail', *Cold War History,* Vol. 13. No. 2 (2013), 239-54.
[57] Christian Könne, *Die Entwicklung des DDR-Hörfunks in den 1960er Jahren. Pläne, Innovation, Wirklichkeiten* (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2006).

Schildt,[58] Lindenberger[59] and Könne,[60] they also address how propaganda campaigns gave way to competition as radio becomes a 'Konsumgut' in the East as well as in the West. Rolf Geserick, who asks 'Was soll das Wort "Konsumgut" im Titel meines Beitrags?',[61] argues that the advent of television and the West's more relaxed presentational style created a less overt 'Erziehungsinstrument' than the radio of the Ulbricht era and forced East German radio to be more competitive and loosen its style. The best example of this is the Berliner Rundfunk show *DT64* launched in 1964 for younger listeners to rival the RIAS youth show *Treffpunkt*. Named after the Freie Deutsche Jugend (FDJ) Deutschlandtreffen where it was piloted, *DT64* had become so popular by the 1980s that it was turned into an entire station to coincide with the fortieth anniversary of the FDJ in 1986.[62] The show's success is ascribed to its 'Mitschnittservice' character, where DJs played tracks in their entirety so that listeners in the East could tape what they were unable to buy. That many of the tracks spun by *DT64* disc jockeys in the early years had been taped from West Berlin radio stations is further illustration of how East Berlin radio benefited from the competition.[63]

The comparative focus is not only indicative of the culmination of two competing systems and ideologies in one city, but it is symptomatic of the Brechtian understanding of radio.[64] Explored further in chapter one of this study, Brecht's notion of reciprocity – 'dialogue' between broadcasters and listeners – is particularly interesting with relation to the GDR where the complaint culture of 'Eingaben'[65] was fostered by the authorities, even in radio, particularly during the immediate post-war period. Christoph Classen and Edward Larkey have

---

[58] Axel Schildt, 'Zwei Staaten: Eine Hörfunk- und Fernsehnation', in *Doppelte Zeitgeschichte*, ed. by Bauerkämper, Sabrow and Stöver (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Nachf., 1998), pp. 58-71.
[59] Thomas Lindenberger, 'Geteilte Welt, geteilter Himmel? Der Kalte Krieg und die Massenmedien in gesellschaftsgeschichtlicher Perspektive' in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Klaus Arnold and Christoph Classen (Berlin: LinksDruck, 2004) pp. 27-44.
[60] Könne, *Entwicklung des DDR-Hörfunks in den 1960er Jahren*, 2006, p.16.
[61] Geserick in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda,* ed. by Arnold and Classen, 2004, pp. 151-62 (p. 151).
[62] Stephan Sprang, *Hörfunkjournalismus und Musikprogramm im gesellschaftlichen Wandel: Eine Chronik von Jugendradio DT64* (Berlin: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2013), p. 1.
[63] For further literature on *DT64*, see Riedel, *Lieber Rundfunk*, 1999, pp. 285-89 and Könne, *Der Hörfunk der DDR in den 1960er Jahren* (Berlin: DRA, 2010), pp. 136-38 and Sprang, *Hörfunkjournalismus*, 2013, pp.1-3.
[64] See Bertolt Brecht, 'Rede über die Funktion des Rundfunks' (1932) in *Rundfunk und Fernsehen in Deutschland: Texte zur Rundfunkpolitik von der Weimarer Republik bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Ansgar Diller (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1985), pp. 54-56.
[65] For further discussion of 'Eingaben' see chapter thirteen of Mary Fulbrook, *The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 269-88.

conducted excellent research of *Hörerpost* based on the scripts and the minutes of *Hörerabende*.[66] Their work, which addresses 1950s radio, offers insight into the everyday culture of the fifties, though Michael Meyen warns against the shortcomings of charting the history of radio usage, arguing it is practically impossible to conduct thoroughly because audience data is inaccurate, fragmentary and therefore unreliable.[67] This is especially true of Berlin stations because, as Meyen observes, so-called 'Schwarzhörer' – radio listeners who illegally tuned into the other side – were neither quantifiable nor readily available to give feedback.[68]

René Wolf echoes Meyen's cautionary advice about the unreliable nature of data relating to radio reception. In exploring the listener-broadcaster relationship, Wolf yields to its speculative nature and asserts that radio's direct influence is not necessarily an empirically measurable process.[69] So why have the majority of radio researchers insisted on measuring reception more than paying attention to the actual product of radio, the audio? Empirical evaluation of the reception of literature, classical music and film does not occur in such a scientific, quantifiable fashion within the academic world to such a great extent. It is, instead, left to the marketing departments of publishing houses, record companies, film distributors and production companies in order to quantify and justify sales strategies. Is it not the task of academic researchers to treat these tapes as cultural goods as well as recognise their influence as commodities? Doing so surely gives due credit to those who made the radio pieces, the producers, nameless as the majority remain.

Wolf lists 'critical awareness of the production process'[70] as paramount to radio research. This is significantly lacking in much of the extant research. The focus on broadcasting policy and structures is emblematic of the fields from which the research hails, which are predominantly history and media theory. Yet neither field takes into account the practical sides of media production; something my work, coming in part from a film and music studies perspective as

[66] Edward Larkey, '"Heute muss ich mal an euch schreiben": Hörerbriefe an DT64 und die Aushandlung kulturpolitischer Legitimation beim DDR-Rundfunk', in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Arnold and Classen, 2004, pp. 323-39.
[67] Michael Meyen, 'Das unwichtige Medium: Radiohören in der DDR', in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Arnold and Christoph Classen, 2004, pp. 341-56.
[68] Ibid. (p. 346).
[69] Wolf, *Undivided Sky,* 2010, p. 214.
[70] Ibid.

well as a practitioner's perspective does to greater extent,[71] despite criticism of practitioner-led studies, articulated by Linda Risso and Rolf Geserick.[72] Both refer, however, to practitioners whose often anecdotal insights into the 'everyday organisational problems faced by people on the ground'[73] betrays political bias that overshadows the merits of eye-witness accounts. The editorial slant of A. Ross Johnson and R. Eugene Parta's multi-authored volume *Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* is a good example of Risso's concerns.[74] Alan L. Heil Jr.'s contribution to the volume about the Voice of America insists upon VOA's 'commitment to candid, complete informational broadcasting' without questioning its overt Cold War bias. Geserick asks whether these eyewitness and practitioner accounts are somewhat selective in what they choose to remember, and observes that the majority (including Heide Riedel's work) are penned by 'leitende Rundfunkfunktionären' rather than by 'einfache Redakteuren'.[75]

Returning briefly to radio research's pronounced concern with reciprocity, Risso remarks that '[r]adio broadcasters – like all practitioners of public diplomacy – needed to get a sense of the actual impact of their programmes'.[76] Audience impact and ratings motivate broadcasters as much today as during the Cold War, if not more so: the first question in daily editorial meetings is invariably 'What were last night's ratings?' Perhaps the broadcasters' own quantitative approach to measuring the success of their output – left behind in documented form in various archives – is the rationale behind the popularity of this research approach. Not only is this success 'perceived', as Risso argues, but as Geserick intimates with his somewhat cheeky reference to 'einfache Redakteuren', reception is more the concern of broadcasting executives than the producers of actual radio. In this vein, it seems imperative that research

[71] My insight as a practitioner is based on a decade in the media industry, working as a television producer for ZDF Heute Journal, 3sat Kulturzeit, and as a radio producer and reporter for the Central Europe bureau of the American radio network NPR (National Public Radio) and as a reporter for RBB Kulturradio in Berlin.
[72] Linda Risso, 'Radio Wars: Broadcasting in the Cold War', *Cold War History,* Vol. 13. No. 2 (2013), 146-52.
[73] Risso, 'Radio Wars', *Cold War History,* Vol. 13, No. 2, 2013, 146-52 (p. 146).
[74] A. Ross Johnson, & R. Eugene Parta, eds., *Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. A Collection of Studies and Documents* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010).
[75] Geserick, 'Erziehungsinstrument', in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Arnold and Classen, 2004, p. 160.
[76] Risso in *Cold War History,* Vol. 13, No. 2, 2013, 146-52 (p. 148).

'steps closer to the texts'[77] as Badenoch petitions, and addresses the heart of the matter, the 'products' of those 'on the ground' and 'in the field'.[78] My own project turns to the 'reliable' and relevant data at hand and affords it the close attention it still requires.

(iv) Sound Research

> *Sound, more than image has the ability to saturate and short-circuit our perception.*
>
> – Michel Chion[79]

Drawing upon further documents obtained from broadcasters' listener research departments (*Hörerforschung*), a number of scholars note in detail what the listeners of divided Berlin wanted to hear. Classen, Geserick and Meyen[80] all agree that radio listeners tuned in for entertainment above anything else. In their introduction to GDR radio, Arnold and Classen claim: 'Die Mehrheit der Hörer ist […] nicht bereit oder fähig, Radioprogrammen konzentriert zuzuhören. Ihnen ist es wichtiger, sich zu erholen oder eine langweilige Routinetätigkeit durch einen Klangteppich angenehmer zu gestalten. […] Entspannung ist somit am leichtesten durch passiven Medienkonsum zu erreichen.'[81] One might contend that the researchers, and ultimately the broadcasters, underestimate their radio listeners. Or perhaps such a contention simply casts me as one of Meyen's typical radio researchers: '[…] die Forscher [,die] andere Bedürfnisse haben als die Mehrheit und schon deshalb auf Nachrichten oder politische Magazine fixiert sind und den großen "Rest" der Programme übersehen, […].'[82] How then, in the light of Meyen's distinction between the average radio listener and the average radio researcher, can I justify my analysis of news and events (chapters two and three) as well as the popular and chatty (chapter four) and the underground (chapter five)? Meyen actually advocates it with his observation: 'In Krisenzeiten ändern sich allerdings die Funktionen des

---

[77] Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, 2008, p. 8.
[78] Risso in *Cold War History*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2013, 146-52 (p. 146).
[79] Michel Chion, 'The three listening modes' in *Audio-Vision*, transl. by C. Gorbman. (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. 25-34 (p. 33).
[80] See Classen, 'Captive audience?', *Cold War History,* Vol. 13. No. 2, 2013, 239-54 (pp. 249, 253), Geserick in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Arnold and Classen, 2004, pp. 151-62 (p. 158), and Meyen in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Arnold and Classen, 2004, pp. 341-56 (p. 354).
[81] Arnold and Classen, eds., *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, 2004, p. 14.
[82] Meyen in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Arnold and Classen, 2004, pp. 341-56 (p. 354).

Mediensystems. Der Unterhaltungscharakter tritt zurück, das Bedürfnis nach Informationen gewinnt die Oberhand, und die Nutzungsfrequenz steigt.'[83] This reasoning and the fact that radio, according to Geserick, remained the 'Leitmedium' ahead of television until the mid-1960s in Berlin is the basis of my decision to choose two case studies on news and media events from the early 1960s.

Arnold's, Classen's, Geserick's and Meyen's disheartening descriptions of the average radio listener – someone who does not really listen to the radio, does not want to be challenged by what they hear, and would prefer to listen to *Schlager* – could well be a reflection of the average radio researcher's own expectations of radio which warrants the question: why are so many researchers engaged in exploring the radio of this period not actually listening to it? Or if they are listening, why are they not sharing what they hear? René Wolf, a radio researcher who listens to the tapes, observes that 'a radio broadcast relies on sound for the transmission of meaning. Its codes are exclusively auditory and verbal.'[84] Part of my research, therefore, is to shatter the prevailing visual bias by moving away from written sources and pressing 'play'. This approach – which could be termed 'sound research' – requires an understanding of how to listen, of what exactly aural analysis entails as well as an overview of what has already been achieved in this field.

This is not to say that sound has not come under the scrutiny of the humanities. On the contrary, sound studies is a well-established field, initiated by, among others, R. Murray Shafer in Vancouver in the late 1960s.[85] Yet sound studies rarely pays attention to radio, concentrating instead on urban spaces, physical structures, film and even literature.[86] The review of sound research in chapter one of this thesis draws attention to the visual bias of which even radio researchers, perhaps unwittingly, are guilty. Thinking aurally as well as visually not only equips us to understand radio as it is meant to be understood, but also aids a more nuanced understanding of Berlin's various spaces, when juxtaposed with the spatial theories of Lefebvre, Soja and Habermas.

---

[83] Ibid.
[84] René Wolf, *Undivided Sky*, 2010, p. 5.
[85] R. Murray Shafer established the World Soundscape Project in the late 1960s at Simon Frazer University in Vancouver where he coined the terms Soundscape and Schizophonia. His book, *The Tuning of the World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), is considered a seminal work in the interdisciplinary field of Sound Studies.
[86] See Florence Feiereisen and Alexandra Merley Hill, *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

The focus this thesis places on listening by no means negates the value of consulting written sources, particularly those pertaining to the wider context. Where necessary, the tapes are supplemented with documents relevant to, and valuable for research. Nevertheless, listening to tapes in the archives rather than giving preferential treatment to the accompanying and supplementary documents offers the researcher access to a richer and more distinct source. The tapes not only reveal tone, pace and grain of a voice, but their resonance imparts information about the space of what is being broadcast. Ultimately, what Joachim-Felix Leonhardt terms the *Programmvermögen* acquired by the DRA upon the closure of the GDR broadcasting houses, some 100,000[87] spoken word features alone, plus the audio resources of the RIAS and SFB archives are, in quantitative terms, reason enough to start listening and put an end to the paradox of radio research based upon reading radio rather than listening to it.

(v) Research Methods, Primary Sources and Selection Criteria

Essentially, there is an acute need for listening methods to be applied to radio research of this period in order to take the medium beyond the field of history and media studies, and into the field of sound studies. But it is not quite that simple, first because we must determine how to listen effectively, and second because my project investigates other dimensions beyond pure audio and vocal, namely space. Divided Berlin is ultimately about space: two ideological spheres that converged in one city and – thanks to radio – created multiple spaces, beyond the binary delineation of Soviet and Western spheres. Adopting approaches developed by Lefebvre, Soja and Habermas informs my acoustic analysis because it helps contextualise the primary sources – the tapes – within such an extraordinary Firstspace, to use Soja's terminology. As well as a means of infiltration for the purposes of psychological warfare, radio of this era could offer its listeners in divided Berlin a means of escape, if merely temporary and mediated. Radio 'de-maps' Berlin and blurs its borders that, like the more overt style of propaganda, are rigid and uncompromising. In divided Berlin, listening to radio is almost akin to walking through the city and these 'walks' unravel and weaken the political structures that dictate where a listener may walk on

[87] Joachim-Felix Leonhard, 'Von gestern auf heute: Das Ende des Rundfunks in einem untergegangenen Staat und seine historische Überlieferung', in *Schallwellen: zur Sozialgeschichte des Radios*, ed. by Theo Mäusli (Zurich: Chronos, 1996), pp. 119-30 (p. 124).

Firstspace terms. Alexander Badenoch points out in the course of his own radio research, 'at issue are not immediate, but mediated experiences and spaces'.[88] This, to a large extent is true of my research, and it is entirely true of my primary sources. However, my research queries how the 'immediate' cityspace and the mediated radio space interact, and what kind of other spaces they create at this interface.

Approaching the audio material and conducting rigorous sound research is a two-fold endeavour. First, we must lay bare the visual bias so prominent in the humanities. For all the criticism pitted against his work, Marshall McLuhan's notion of acoustic space not only illustrates how visually we think and communicate, but with his argument that the 'ear favours no point of view', points toward the postmodernist sensibility that typifies the spatial turn.[89] The theoretical preoccupations with the nature of radio in the work of radio theorists Paddy Scannell, John Durham Peters and Andrew Crisell have taken note of McLuhan's observation and approached radio from an appropriately audio-centric standpoint. Second, in order to deploy the listening method effectively, we must equip ourselves with analytical tools of a more pragmatic hue, much like those provided by modal, tonal and atonal theory to give musicologists and musicians a deeper understanding of music, whether playing, listening or composing. And just as scholars and practitioners of music must hone their aural skills as well as mastering their instruments and reading up on context, so must the radio researcher if he or she is to decipher what the audio material is communicating.

Michel Chion's audio-visual theories are more useful for radio listening than the field of musicology. Chion proposes various listening modes as tools for understanding sound. The most common is what he terms causal listening, in which one listens to a sound in order to gather information about its source. He observes that it functions to varying degrees: we sometimes recognise a specific person's voice, but we rarely recognise a unique source heard out of context. Alternatively, a source we know well can go unidentified and unnamed indefinitely; radio announcers are a fitting example. Chion cautions that causal listening is the 'most easily influenced and therefore very deceptive mode of

[88] Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, 2008, p. 2.
[89] Richard Cavell, *McLuhan in Space: A Cultural Geography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 29.

listening'.[90] Another method Chion suggests is what he terms 'reduced listening'. Reduced listening concentrates on a sound's attributes, from actual content, to source, to meaning. He advocates reduced listening as a means of practice, arguing it is a good aural exercise, that it 'opens up our ears, sharpens our power of listening'[91] and enables the sound researcher to get to know his or her own medium better. Chion argues that 'sound interferes with our perception'.[92] His theories deconstruct the act of listening into deceptively simple methods because, he argues, there is a 'lack of any real aural training in our culture'[93]. For the avid radio listener, deploying such listening methods presents itself as a welcome challenge.

René Wolf, in the introduction to his own work is more specific than Chion, and considers how we can listen to radio. He notes that meaning can be constructed with verbal, linguistic codes, sounds, sound effects, silence and music.[94] He also warns that the ear is 'profoundly unreliable as a sensory organ',[95] and that the listener's attention is often requested by the narrative voice. He explains the techniques radio producers use to communicate meaning, such as the 'audio close-up' which is the construction of space using microphone positioning. These aspects of close radio listening are taken into detailed account in the individual case studies. In the concluding chapter of this thesis, a review of the nature of radio archives sheds light on soundbite culture, not only on the manner of listening it encourages, but the way in which listeners re-appropriate and re-fashion such sources.

After a significant amount of exploratory preliminary listening, some of which highlighted certain limitations imposed by archival conditions, it was clear that the concepts of space and voice must inform the criteria for selecting the primary sources. In order to explore the progression of the period, the selection criteria are also informed by the date method. Rather than singling out four specific and historically significant dates from my chosen era, I select two historical events and two non-events. Specifically, the building of the Wall in 1961 (the first case study) and John F. Kennedy's 1963 Berlin visit (the second case study) have been chosen, not only to provide a sense of the 'newsworthy'

[90] Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 1994, pp. 25-34.
[91] Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 1994, p. 31.
[92] Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 1994, p. 33.
[93] Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 1994, p. 34.
[94] Wolf, *Undivided Sky*, 2010, p. 5.
[95] Ibid.

during the stipulated timeframe, but also to draw comparisons between space produced by a news event, and that produced by a media event. It would be remiss of this research to ignore news (both that which is reactionary and that which comes after a media event) seeing as one of the medium's main tasks is to disseminate information, despite the alleged desire for entertainment. The third and fourth case studies were selected for being non-events and for representing the unofficial, so as to draw further comparisons between the space produced by the weekly return of the welcomed and cherished voice of Friedrich Luft (as explored in the third case study) and the alternative, legal and illegal space of resistance created by *Radio Glasnost* (the fourth case study). These four case studies illustrate the extent to which radio interrupts the listeners' lives, or to which it appears on their radar. Using voice as a further selection criterion, my choice of case studies also represents the range of registers – from highly official sober news reporting, to celebratory media event coverage via Friedrich Luft's friendlier, more intimate and familial tone to the unofficial, unsanctioned, underground and previously unheard voices of resistance. The first three case studies are examples of amplified voices; the last and longest case study represents voices that had been silenced. The advent of television also has some bearing upon the partial date method: examples of events have been taken from the early 1960s whilst radio still dominated the news landscape. Specifically, I chose the building of the Wall instead of its fall as an example of a news event because the latter happened to a larger extent on television and on camcorder-shot home videos. Just as the building of the Wall in 1961 significantly alters the nature of cityspace, so does its fall in 1989, and the latter is not neglected, but considered in my chapter on *Radio Glasnost* and in the concluding chapter with reference to radio features commemorating the ten-year anniversary of the fall of the Wall.

The audio material I have selected for analysis is sourced from the Deutsche Rundfunk Archiv (DRA) in Babelsberg which houses what remains of the legacy of the now extinct GDR broadcasters, the RIAS archives which were inherited by Deutschlandradio Kultur when RIAS went off the air in 1993, the SFB archives at Haus des Rundfunks, now home to its post-'Wende' successor RBB, the archives at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin, and the Robert-Havemann-Archiv, custodian of documents and tapes pertaining to the GDR opposition. As corroborated by Richard Dove in his edited volume on the BBC

German Service,[96] virtually nothing of the German language output survives, neither in audio form at the British Library, nor in script form at the paper archives in Caversham, Berkshire. Dove is right in describing both archives as 'an almost entirely monoglot affair'[97], which seems oddly incongruous with the BBC's ample foreign language output. As it became clear during the course of research, the archival culture of not archiving stretches to the corporation's working, monoglot archives. All that remains, for instance, of the BBC's radio coverage of Kennedy in Europe in 1963 is the Irish leg of the tour.

The archival work has posed a number of constraints beyond those of the BBC. Archives belonging to working broadcasting institutions exist – first and foremost – to serve their own programme makers. Academic researchers do not have priority when it comes to requests and usage. That said, these archives respect and maintain a strong interest in academic studies of their collections, and everybody I have worked with at the RIAS and SFB archives have been exceptional in facilitating my research. The pace at the DRA is not dictated by the demands of journalists who wish to include archive footage in their daily news reports, and the staff is able to focus entirely on the needs of academic researchers. However, hurdles exist because the archivists are still in the process of cataloguing its audio material, and although progress continues in both digitalising the actual tapes and producing an in-house catalogue, I had to rely upon the archive's reliable and highly knowledgeable staff to source material for me, meaning a loss of research autonomy to a certain degree. The only other major restriction is more characteristic of audio sources than of any specific archival culture. Listening to material is more time-consuming than reading material, but it also reveals a great deal more about the medium under examination. Unless a researcher wields shorthand skills, transcribing tapes requires stamina and time. A method that has proven effective is to take detailed notes in the initial stages of listening, select the material for closer analysis and either transcribe it or, where possible, order audio copies. The latter option is also time-consuming because copyrights have to be agreed upon for every tape, and it incurs not inconsiderable costs. All the same, obtaining the audio rather than transcribing is certainly the preferred research recourse; as Wolf observes, transcripts 'fail to evoke the responses experienced

[96] Brinson and Dove, *Stimme der Wahrheit: German-Language Broadcasting by the BBC* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003).
[97] Brinson and Dove, *Stimme der Wahrheit*, 2003, p. xiv.

by listening'.[98] In the case of *Radio Glasnost*, I had access both to the tapes and transcripts scribed faithfully to the last letter – with the exception of some of the English band names – by the Stasi who tuned in monthly without fail. A CD featuring a selection of the audio material analysed in my case studies accompanies this thesis and serves as an invitation to listen as well as to read on.

[98] Wolf, *Undivided Sky*, 2010, p. 5.

Chapter 1

SPACE

The spaces that constitute the focus of my research are neatly illustrated in an opening scene from Wim Wenders' homage to West Berlin, *Der Himmel über Berlin.*[1] As an aeroplane commences its descent into the city, it flies past the *Funkturm* in the West. Wenders' camera assumes the point of view of a window-seat passenger, looking down upon the streets and houses of the city below. Passing the top of the broadcasting tower, a non-diegetic cacophony of jingles and voices emanate from it, in a fashion as make-believe as the thoughts that stream freely from the heads of the city's dwellers. Fleetingly, Wenders presents us with two spaces: Berlin (figure 1.1) and its radio stations (figure 1.2); it is this cityspace and mediaspace under investigation here. Bar a few isolated dialogues penned by Peter Handke, Wenders' film was shot without a script, and the director has claimed in interview that his film could be viewed without the sound, that it is almost a silent film.[2] Yet the omission of sound in this instance – a method film-sound theorist Michel Chion refers to as 'masking'[3] – removes significant spatial meaning. Although it is obvious for those in the know that the *Funkturm* was located in West Berlin, the string of jingles – from AFN to RIAS Berlin – and the bulletin about traffic at the border heard on Wenders' soundtrack confirms the location of the aeroplane's airspace.

Figure 1.1: *Der Himmel über Berlin* (Wim Wenders, 1987)

[1] Wim Wenders, *Der Himmel über Berlin* (Wings of Desire), 1987.
[2] See Interview with director in the DVD extras, Wenders, *Der Himmel über Berlin*, 1987.
[3] Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 1994, p. 187.

Figure 1.2: *Der Himmel über Berlin* (Wim Wenders, 1987)

Just a few scenes on, Wenders' camera is at ground level, exploring the living space of the city's inhabitants. Almost immediately, he homes in on the broadcasting tower's corresponding device – a radio, but this time he deploys diegetic sound to accompany the image. The nondescript pop music that blares from the ghetto blaster (figure 1.3) does not offer any sonic clues as to where in the divided city we might be, but this is not on account of Wenders' generic choice of radio sound. Unlike the broadcasting tower, which only transmits the signals of Western broadcasters, the radio can receive Western and Eastern signals regardless of whether located in the West or the East of the city. These two contrasting treatments of sound reveal something of the nature of broadcast mediaspace; it has at least three locations: the site where it is produced and broadcast, the site where it is received and the space in-between.[4] This chapter explores all of these spaces. Significant here is that it is a visual medium, or more precisely an audio-visual medium that provides such a conveniently illuminating depiction of the spaces into which I am enquiring. It illustrates perfectly the visual bias ingrained within spatial thinking.

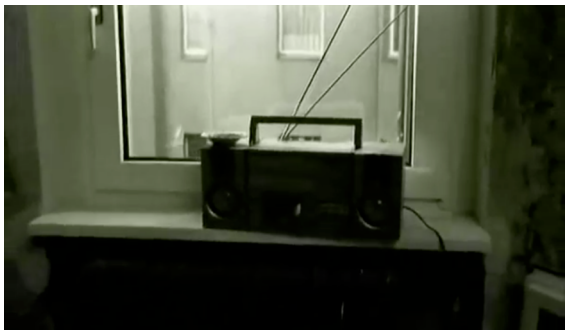


Figure 1.3: *Der Himmel über Berlin* (Wim Wenders, 1987)

[4] Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy, eds., *Mediaspace* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 64.

Roughly two decades after the emergence of what is now widely known as the spatial turn, 'space is the everywhere of modern thought'.[5] Thinking spatially can be an exceptionally multidisciplinary endeavour and yet, there is no 'one size fits all' theoretical approach. In the introduction to his volume on the spatial turn in German literature and visual culture,[6] Jaimey Fisher warns of the limitations of theories borrowed from the social sciences; a sentiment echoed by Mike Crang and Nigel Thrift who preface their volume with cautionary pointers on how to navigate the crowded realm of spatial theory. They assert that 'different disciplines do space differently' and yet, as Barney Warf and Santa Arias[7] observe in their own volume, spatial research very definitely blurs the boundaries that organise the academic division of labour. Bearing this guidance in mind, my theoretical approach is, crucially, determined by the very nature of the spaces themselves.

The cityspace of divided Berlin is a contested space and, for that reason, highly political. The mediaspace under consideration is essentially acoustic and, of course, mediated. Moreover, by approaching the city via its radio output, mediaspace renders cityspace mediated and, within the scope of my thesis, it is entirely mediated. As media theorist Niklas Luhmann argues, 'whatever we know about our society, or indeed about the world in which we live, we know through the mass media'.[8] In her exploration of sound-aided memories of divided Berlin in Feiereisen and Merley Hill's volume on sound in twentieth-century Germany,[9] Nicole Dietrich states that the GDR 'only exists in memories'.[10] Dietrich's assertion is a conclusive remark based on an empirical study, specifically on interviews she has conducted with Berliners, asking them what they remember when they hear specific sounds, or asking them to describe what they remember of the city's sound before the fall of the Wall. She neglects, however, to acknowledge that a version of the GDR also exists on tape. Certainly, the extinct state's extant media legacy is inextricably bound up in memories of the state, but the two remain distinct from one another, even if

[5] Mike Crang and Nigel Thrift, *Thinking Space* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000), p. 1.
[6] Jaimey Fisher and Barbara Mennel, *Spatial Turns: Space, Place and Mobility in German Literary and Visual Culture* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), p. 18.
[7] Barney Warf and Santa Arias, eds., *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), p. 2.
[8] Niklas Luhmann in Dan Laughey, *Key Themes in Media Theory* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2007), p. 2.
[9] Feiereisen and Merley Hill, *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century*, 2012, pp. 95-108.
[10] Feiereisen and Merley Hill, *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century*, 2012, p. 107.

many of the memories are induced, or in the case of prosthetic memory, informed by the actual recorded artefacts.[11]

Within the spatial turn, which as Soja maintains is very much ongoing, it would seem that there is still considerable space for further enquiry, not least for the consideration of radio, and radio within the field of German studies. Fisher's aforementioned volume on space in German literary and visual culture offers a spatially informed re-reading of canonical texts. Fisher argues that German Studies is particularly well suited to spatial analysis given the constantly shifting borders and redefinition of national spaces.[12] Yet, as the title indicates, the volume favours the visual. Nora M. Alter and Lutz Koepnick's 2004 volume of essays on the acoustics of modern German culture, *Sound Matters*, concentrates chiefly on music and deploys the highly established tonal and atonal theories from musicology. The volume also addresses acoustic space in German film, posing some very useful questions on how to approach sound. Yet consideration of other sound spaces, such as broadcast space, is scarce. Florence Feiereisen and Alexandra Merley Hill's recent and seminal work on the overtly aural aspects of German studies attempts to bridge this gap, offering excellent groundwork for a sonically informed understanding of the field. Even if it is, by its own admission, an introduction to all things aural, it neglects, bar a chapter on Günther Eich's 1951 radio play *Träume*, to consider the obvious – radio – in any detail.

My exploration of space draws upon a variety of theorists. First, on account of the decisively acoustic nature of the space under consideration, it is necessary to address in some detail the visual bias of the spatial turn. For this, I draw upon Marshall McLuhan, despite a common reluctance to revisit his widely rejected theories, as he offers insight on how to approach acoustic space. Second, I consider the cityspace of divided Berlin, consulting the work of Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja. Third, I examine the nature of mediaspace, explicitly that of radio space, drawing upon theories specific to the medium including those of Andrew Crisell, John Durham Peters and Paddy Scannell. Finally, I turn to Jürgen Habermas in order to probe the political nature of these spaces.

---

[11] The concept prosthetic memory refers to memories that are not our own but that we nevertheless come to possess via photographs and media, and is explored further in Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, 2004.

[12] Fisher and Mennel, eds., *Spatial Turns*, 2010, p. 9.

If, returning briefly to Wenders' film, we were to mask his image rather than the sound as the filmmaker suggests, we would garner not nearly as much spatial information as we would masking the sound. This not only underlines what Chion refers to as the audio-visual contract of film, but also indicates that in shifting our focus to the neglected field of sonic space, we must not – as Feiereisen and Merley Hill also urge – abandon the visual entirely. Correspondingly, and in order to illustrate and move beyond ocularcentric spatial theory, this chapter draws upon both audio and audio-visual material that re-articulate the cityspace of Berlin, before narrowing the focus exclusively to audio material, that is to say radio archive material, in the case studies in chapters two to five.

1.1 The Visual Bias of the Spatial Turn

> Man was given an eye for an ear.
>
> — Marshall McLuhan[13]

Irrespective of Soja's observation that spatial scholarship has been pursued predominantly in disciplines other than his own, Germanists Feiereisen and Merley Hill argue that space 'is traditionally associated with geography and topography, with borders and shapes, and therefore belongs to the visual realm'.[14] Although their book is an introduction to sound within German literature and culture, they turn to the notion of space in order to facilitate conceptualisation of the former, a telling sign of ocularcentricism in itself. Specifically, and perhaps surprisingly, they turn to McLuhan's notion of acoustic space; surprising, because McLuhan's theories have been discredited by a vast contingent of academia.[15] Yet the fact that his work continues to be cited with relative frequency is reason enough not to dismiss him entirely. Indeed, it would be remiss to do so considering Lefebvre's acknowledgement of him in *The*

[13] Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects* (New York: Ginko Press, 1967, 1996), p. 44.
[14] Feiereisen and Merley Hill, *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century*, 2012, p. 6.
[15] Among McLuhan's detractors are Raymond Williams and Nicholas Garnham who accuse him of technological determinism. Other critics, such as Dwight MacDonald, condemn McLuhan for an academic approach that is lacking in rigour. See also 'Coming to terms with the future he foresaw: Marshall McLuhan's Understanding Media', *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 47, No. 2, 2006, 373-380 and Paul Grosswiler, 'The Method is the Message: rethinking McLuhan through critical theory', *Canadian Journal of Communication*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1999, http://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal/article/view /1087/993, [accessed 25 Jul. 2014]
and Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (London: Fontana, 1974).

Production of Space, despite viewing him as 'un peu charlatanesque'.[16] McLuhan scholar Richard Cavell argues that McLuhan's theories are very much a part of the spatial turn; he suggests that just as Lefebvre attributed the under-theorisation of space to the overestimation of texts, McLuhan would have seen the under-theorisation of acoustic space as the result of the overestimation of visual space.[17] Consideration of McLuhan's notion of acoustic space is necessary not only for these reasons but also because Feiereisen and Merley Hill approach their study on sound via spatial theory and specifically via McLuhan. By contrast, this thesis explores the relation between space and broadcast sound, but even this approach will benefit from some reflection on McLuhan's 'orality'.

McLuhan believes the voice became a visual medium upon the invention of the alphabet, a phenomenon further consolidated with the invention of the printing press.[18] This is often referred to as the Gutenberg Bias, elucidated upon in McLuhan's 1962 publication *The Gutenberg Galaxy*. McLuhan is not alone in believing that the advent of print heralded an era of visual hegemony. Barney Warf notes how dependency upon the written word contributed to equating seeing with knowing.[19] Warf also notes parallels drawn by Lefebvre between developments in fifteenth-century art (the advent of rendered perspective) and a visually influenced, linear mode of thinking, specifically thinking from a 'single, fixed viewpoint'.[20] Correspondingly, McLuhan views the shift from print to electronic culture as a return to what he terms 'orality' and acoustic space, and many of his publications seek to illustrate this. The very fact that he uses the medium of print in order to counter ocularcentrism is crucial for an understanding of his concept of acoustic space, in so far that he was able to define it concretely.[21] What it is not is something that is exclusively acoustic. Rather, it is acoustic in nature. Like paintings rendered prior to the advent of Renaissance perspective, 'the ear favours no particular point of view'.[22] Ironically, many of these non-linear texts (figure 1.4) are expressly visual;

[16] Henri Lefebvre in Richard Cavell, *McLuhan in Space: A Cultural Geography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 29.
[17] Ibid.
[18] McLuhan and Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage,* 1967, pp. 48-50.
[19] Warf and Arias, eds., *Spatial Turn*, 2009, p. 63.
[20] Warf and Arias, eds., *Spatial Turn*, 2009, p. 64.
[21] Judith Stamps, *Unthinking Modernity: Innis, McLuhan, and the Frankfurt School* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), p. 133.
[22] McLuhan, *Medium is the Message,* p. 111.

McLuhan describes them as ‘mosaic’. Yet even McLuhan, if we are to follow his train of thought,[23] must adhere to ‘the line, the continuum’ and ‘bead-like’, ‘prescribed order’[24] of the sentence.

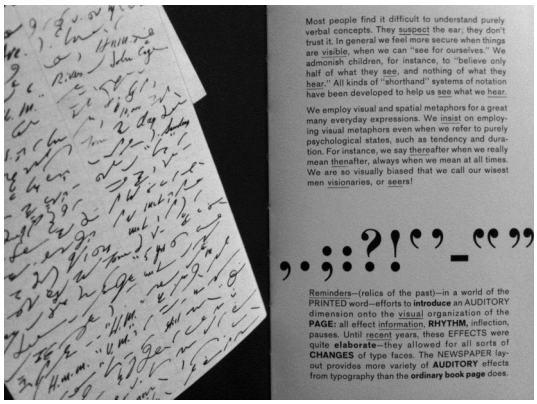


Figure 1.4: McLuhan’s and Fiore’s overtly visual, non-linear texts (McLuhan and Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage,* 1967)

An apposite example of how McLuhan attempts to disrupt further the linearity of writing and abandons visual, specifically printed, media to express his views is the CBS vinyl record version of his book *The Medium is the Massage* produced by Jerome Agel and John Simon in 1967. The record, forty minutes in length, is a sonic collage of discussions, scripted dialogue probably appropriated from television, sound effects, newsreel footage, contemporary incidental music, snippets of popular classical music such as Vivaldi’s *Le quattro stagioni*, and McLuhan himself. These various audio elements (on reel-to-reel tape) are literally spliced up (with razor blades) and put back together (mixed), a particularly haptic technique that, until the recent development of both digital recording and mixing technologies, was the stock method of audio production; a point that is of importance for the consideration of archival material in the main part of this thesis.

McLuhan’s voice, made the most dominant in the final mix, is heard reading excerpts from his book, auralising his written work. As he utters the statement: ‘Writing encouraged an analytical mode of thinking with emphasis upon linearity, continuity and connectedness. In other words, visuality’,[25]

[23] In the CBS audio version of *The Medium is the Massage*, McLuhan repeatedly asks ‘Do you follow me?’, which juxtaposed with the record’s overtly montage and non-linear structure, is willfully provocative.
[24] McLuhan and Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage,* 1967, p. 44.
[25] Marshall McLuhan, Jerome Agel and John Simon, *The Medium is the Massage*, Columbia Records, 1967.

McLuhan is interrupted by his producer who requests a re-take just before he says ‘continuity’. This deliberate performance not only acknowledges the spaces of production – the studio and the production booth, but it exemplifies McLuhan making his point literally, or more precisely, orally. Yet this rendering of his text in a real, acoustic space scarcely differs from the fashion in which it is rendered on the page, (figure 1.5). It would appear that McLuhan is simply demonstrating how ‘acoustic’ – in his own sense of the word – his book really is. To take a further example, a loop is deployed to repeat McLuhan’s articulation of the word ‘printing’ (figure 1.6), which is then briefly interrupted – by way of an aural joke – when McLuhan pauses to turn the (printed) page so that he may finish his sentence. The entire record is dotted with such depictions, mixing McLuhan’s voice with fragments of others to communicate, for instance, his statement ‘printing fostered […] a habit of thinking in bits and parts’. As sociologist and occasional NPR producer Oliver Wang argues, ‘Agel and Simon put their spin on the book's own cut-and-paste aesthetic with their proto-mashup styles’.[26] It is almost exclusively down to the composition of the record and how it has been edited that the recording so successfully auralises McLuhan’s book.

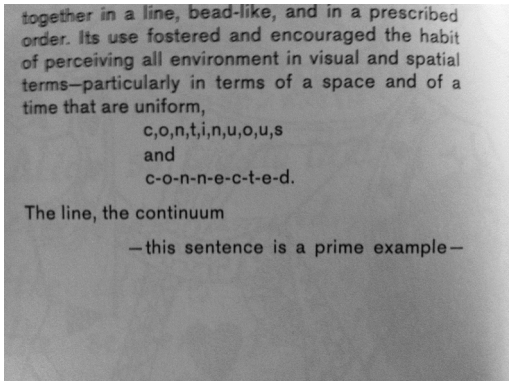


Figure 1.5: McLuhan’s ‘orality’ on the page (McLuhan and Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage,* 1967)

[26] Oliver Wang, *The Medium is the Massage: A Kitchen Sink of Sound*, National Public Radio (NPR), 20 March 2012, http://www.npr.org /2012/03/20/149008718/the-medium-is-the-massage-a-kitchen-sink-of-sound [accessed 15 April 2013].

Figure 1.6: McLuhan on and in print (McLuhan and Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage,* 1967)

The producers Agel and Simon, whom we repeatedly hear issuing directions or in comic exchange with McLuhan, use echo and sound effects, distortion and silence as part of their take on McLuhan's aesthetic and meaning. Unknown voices are revealed to be reading – a visual endeavour in McLuhan's world – because they articulate the punctuation: 'Semicolon. Quote, close quote'. Naturally, the record is acoustic, but it is also an example of McLuhan's acoustic space in that it has no point of view, despite the prominence given to McLuhan's rather monotonous tone of voice, achieved with increased volume, proximity to microphone and the aural texture of the final mix. Its reduced linearity is not only the result of audio montage technique, but also of looping. At what is essentially the end of the record, the producer issues the instruction 'Let's take it from the top!' This not only reveals a degree of spatiality in the language of audio and audio-visual media production, but by ending with the music from the opening, the record has looped back to the 'beginning'. It would almost be entirely non-linear – without a clear beginning and end – if the record did not need to be turned over.

McLuhan's exploration and advocacy of his very own brand of acoustic space serves my research in as far as it encourages a review of how to perceive 'texts', an approach valuable for audio material fostering close listening to all layers of sound. Yet his reflections on fixed perspective and the linearity of print culture has its limits for this project's consideration of both media and sonic space. As observed, his notion of acoustic space does not solely refer to the realm of music, radio and other auditory practices. His

contention that acoustic space offers no point of view, and is thereby less likely to form 'single-voiced historical narratives',[27] points towards the postmodernist sensibility that strongly typifies the spatial turn. Cavell goes so far as to merit McLuhan with having established the spatial as 'the most significant dimension of postmodernist inquiry, be it in geography or media theory'.[28] However, McLuhan is highly problematic and he is to be consulted with caution, of which plenty abounds. At worst, the vinyl version of *The Medium is the Message* could be viewed as 'scattered […] pastiches of catchy phrases that seem [...] to go nowhere and everywhere at once'.[29] Judith Stamps – a dedicated yet diligently critical proponent of McLuhan – laments how the careless application of his concept acoustic space made his later works 'unconvincing and dogmatic'.[30] She sees a tragic development of simplification and naivety within his work. Less sympathetic criticism charges McLuhan with technological determinism and as pseudo-scientific, lacking in evidence.[31]

Disclaimers aside, McLuhan recognised in the advent of electronic communications technology the potential for a shift in perception, from a visually biased to a multi-sensory experience of the world around us. As Feiereisen and Merley Hill argue in the introduction to their book on the sound of twentieth century Germany, this is reason enough to follow suit, 'enter the ether' and 'engage with the sonic'.[32] Although McLuhan is their main point of reference, it proves prudent to enter the ether in the company of other theorists who can contribute to the sonic aspect of space or alternatively the spatial aspect of sound. More than the spatial turn, my research probes the considerably less developed sonic turn. Specifically it does so in relation to radio reports, features and other broadcast formats. Such audio material is often as linear as a written text and its perspective, particularly in the period of study, is often heavily biased. McLuhan's notion of 'orality' is less helpful for radio sound, but it certainly aids the realisation of how visually we perceive the world.

---

[27] Warf and Arias, eds., *Spatial Turn*, 2009, p. 1.
[28] Cavell, *McLuhan in Space*, 2003, p. 28.
[29] Stamps, *Unthinking Modernity*, 1995, p. 142.
[30] Ibid.
[31] See Nicholas Garnham, *Emancipation, the Media, and Modernity: Arguments about the Media and Social Theory* (Oxford: OUP, 2000).
[32] Feiereisen and Merley Hill, *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century*, 2012, p. 12.

Sonic space is a rather nascent area of research because unlike the printed word, it is only relatively recently that the technology to capture and record it has existed. Even since the invention of the microphone and recording device, recorded sound – with the exception of that produced by the music-dominated recording industry – is often, as Lutz Koepnick observes, 'ephemeral, leaving no trace'.[33] This impermanence is especially true of radio sound, the nature of which will be explored in more detail in section 1.3. Clive Barnett's observation that communications technologies 'do not overcome distance and separation, they render them invisible' has far-reaching implications for my project. First, it contends that for all the might of the media and power of propaganda, Berlin's spatial-political blocks as defined by a concrete wall win every time, that ultimately it is the Wall that defines space. In 'real' terms, or in what Lefebvre would classify as conceived space, Berliners remain separated. Second, his assertion follows McLuhan in that it recognises the shift away from an ocularcentric society, and it is this invisibility, the suggestion of evasiveness, and resulting potential for 'sites of resistance' that is significant for the enquiry of highly political and contested space. Yet before elaborating upon these two observations, brief consideration of this technological shift away from ocularcentricism and its spatial implications, such as the part it plays in the production of space, is necessary. For this, we return to the very beginnings of radio.

Sound came to Berlin's airwaves in 1923; it arrived on cinema screens in 1929. With the exception of classical music, none of the radio sound was pre-recorded. Radio had only the capacity to broadcast live. This meant that broadcasters were reliant solely upon the limited realm of the studio and the 'here and now' to produce its *Hörspiele* and news reports. None of what today in broadcasting is referred to as actuality (voices, interviews, *vox populi*) and atmosphere or ambience (background sound) were available to producers to illustrate their work. In 1930, radio in Berlin briefly benefited from the technology of the 'talkie', or talking movie. The same technology used for sound films was experimented with by broadcasters; on one occasion, film director Walter

[33] Nora M. Nora and Lutz Kopenick, eds., *Sound Matters: Essays on the Acoustic of Modern German Culture* (New York: Berghahn, 2004), p. 4.

Ruttmann swapped the camera for the microphone.[34] In doing so, he observed that: 'Die Tonaufnahme eines gesprochenen Wortes ergibt nämlich nicht nur die Lautphotographie dieses Wortes, sondern auch das genau qualifizierte akustische Abbild des Raumes, in dem es gesprochen wird.'[35] Ruttman's remark betrays both a sensitive awareness of sonic space as well as the type of technology with which – up until this point – he has worked. His ocularcentric terms *Lautphotographie* and *Abbild* very clearly indicate which type of technology was widely available first. In 1930, Ruttmann did with sound what he'd done in 1927 with images in *Berlin. Die Symphonie der Großstadt*. His only radio piece *Weekend* is an eleven-minute 'Tonmontagestudie',[36] and like the film that brought him fame, *Weekend* could be categorised as a semi-documentary, that of a couple of days in the life of a city. Here he deploys the same highly expressive montage technique, already tried and tested in *Berlin.*[37]

The piece is a collage of authentic sounds Ruttmann recorded himself – exactly 240 different clips – and although it has a loose narrative structure, it offers no real dialogue or detailed story. *Weekend* depicts the contrast between the working week in the new, modern city and the recently introduced concept of a weekend. The daily grind, labelled by Ruttmann as *Jazz der Arbeit* is depicted by recordings of machinery and tools, typewriters, cash registers, the clicking of telephone exchanges and voices at the end of telephone lines. Church bells and a cuckoo clock mark the time elsewhere in the city and the factory siren brings the working day to its end. The passage *Feierabend* is marked by the winding down of machines, the shutting of factory gates and relative quiet. Whistling, singing and jovial calls of 'juhu!' indicate leisure time. Train doors shutting mark the *Fahrt ins Freie*, and a brief departure from the city and its hectic soundscape to *Pastorale*, denoted by birdsong and dogs barking. Singing features throughout the weekend, some of it rowdy accompanied by the clinking of beer glasses, some of it less profane accompanied by an organ and church echo. Both are depicted as weekly rituals, the end of which –

[34] For further details about this particular kind of film-sound technology, see Clas Dammann, *Stimme aus dem Äther: Fenster zur Welt. Die Anfänge von Radio und Fernsehen in Deutschland* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), pp. 198-207.
[35] Walter Ruttmann in Dammann, *Stimme aus dem Äther*, 2005, p. 205.
[36] Walter Ruttmann in Dammann, *Stimme aus dem Äther,* 2005, p. 206.
[37] *Berlin: Sinfonie einer Großstadt* is referred to widely as a documentary, although Walter Schobert refutes the category, stating rather that it is an abstract film which uses the city as raw material. See Walter Schobert, 'Painting in time and visual music: on German avant-garde films of the 1920s', in *Expressionist Film – New Perspectives*, ed. by Dietrich Scheunemann (Rochester, NY: Random House, 2003), pp. 237-50.

Wiederbeginn der Arbeit – is marked by a cross-fade from the sound of church bells to the sound of the factory siren and the cranking up of machinery, ending with a crescendo to the volume at which *Jazz der Arbeit* started.

In spatial terms, *Weekend* is an acoustic observation of how sound shapes our daily lives. Although it is missing from Ruttmann's soundscape, the sound of radio today belongs as much – if not more – to the acoustic marking of space, in particular temporal space, as that of Ruttmann's clock and church bells.[38] Clas Damman notes that Ruttmann is very aware of 'die Räumlichkeit der Klänge'[39] – the spatiality of sound – aiming for a 'Dreidimensionalität'.[40] Using the same audio recording methods as the film industry, Ruttmann is able to collect sounds and then cut and mix them, as he would a film. Significantly, *Weekend* owes its montage form not only to the cinema of the era, but also to its literature, both visual media. Yet it is both disappointing and ironic to note, as Damman does, that such montage techniques are not deployed in other *Hörspiele* of the time, not even for a radio adaptation of Alfred Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz.*[41]

Ruttmann's sole radio work is pioneering for the time. It signals a brief expansion of radio space. With it he momentarily suspends the dominance of what McLuhan would term as visual media: the written, then spoken word. The use of film to record sound sees the production space move from the 'Schreibtisch' (writing desk) to the 'Schneidetisch'[42] (mixing desk). Ruttmann uses his microphone like a camera and his razor blade like a pen. These developments in audio technology, as demonstrated by Ruttmann's audio montage, mark the shift from an ocularcentric rendering and reading of space to one that is more aware of the auditory. As Damman details, following Ruttmann's brief experimentation with sound film audio recording equipment, Berlin's broadcasting houses decided against its continued usage, using instead recording media that could not be spliced and stuck back together again. It is not until the early sixties that magnetic tape becomes widely available, meaning that some of the material analysed in the case studies of

[38] Ruttmann's sound film pre-dates the *Volksempfänger*, the radio introduced into numerous households by the National Socialists.
[39] Dammann, *Stimme der Äther*, 2005, p. 205.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Published in 1929, Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz* renders the proletarian district surrounding Alexanderplatz through extensive use of montage, including advertising slogans, signs, traffic sounds, bar songs and newspaper headlines.
[42] Dammann, *Stimme der Äther*, 2005, p. 202.

this thesis will have been produced with relatively new recording technology. Almost forty years later, Agel and Simon's McLuhan 'mix-tape' is close to the next shining example of Ruttmann's montage technique. Yet only the earlier example was produced for the medium of radio.

1.2 Cityspace

So far, my discussion of shifts in spatial perception has been limited to consideration of overcoming the visual bias, a necessary endeavour considering the hitherto widespread preference for written sources among researchers of radio in this period. Irrespective of the way in which a particular space is depicted, be it by its transport system, its trade routes, its telephone wires, its media coverage (both printed and broadcast) or by its depictions in film and literature, it is vital that any mapping or re-mapping does not fall into binary trappings. It could be argued that the spaces under consideration do just that, with divided Berlin as the material space and its media as a space of representation, creating the 'dualities material-mental, objective-subjective [and] empirical-conceptual.'[43] The spatial turn, however, sees a move away from such confines and, as Edward Soja asserts, heralds a 'rebalanced perspective'.[44] He attributes this interpretative shift to the work of Michel Foucault and, in particular, that of Henri Lefebvre. In a process Soja terms 'critical thirding', both philosophers opened up spatial thinking beyond the ostensibly 'real' and 'imagined'. Their ontological endeavours, resulting in the emergence of a third space, allow a more nuanced spatially informed analysis of Berlin and its radio. For the investigation of what is essentially a highly controlled, political space, Thirdspace – so coined by Soja – provides the theoretical tools with which we can potentially reveal hidden spaces (those both hidden by the state as well as its citizens) and sites of resistance. For illustration purposes at this stage of research, and keeping in mind the sonic focus of my spatial enquiry, I draw upon Cynthia Beatt's short documentary *Cycling the Frame*. Filmed in West Berlin in 1988, Beatt follows Tilda Swinton as she embarks upon her very own spatial survey and cycles the entire 160-kilometre length of the Wall. In the interest of perceptual balance, Beatt's film is a particularly suitable audio-visual choice on account of its treatment of sound, which includes a non-diegetic contribution – credited as a sound wall – by audio designer Simon Turner, a

[43] Edward W. Soja, in Warf and Arias, eds., *Spatial Turn*, 2009, p. 20.
[44] Edward W. Soja, *Postmetropolis* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 7.

soundtrack comprising noises that do not hail from the visual track but loosely reference what is shown on film.

Another example: Nicole Dietrich's 'audible cartography' of divided Berlin in Feiereisen and Merley Hill's study on sound in Germany, is traced specifically using memories gathered in interview. Reflecting upon her data,[45] Dietrich observes that 'rather than the location of two sonic worlds clashing, […] the Wall is remembered as a space empty of sounds'.[46] In *Cycling the Frame*, Swinton also remarks that it is 'so strange how this is such a quiet place' as she peers across one of many border points. This silence is rendered particularly symbolic as Swinton remarks upon an irony more than likely quite obvious to West Berliners at the time: 'It's so bizarre that West Berliners so studiously seem to be ignoring the Wall. […] And so the men who give it such attention on the other side seems unbalanced.' One of Dietrich's interviewees, a West Berliner, remembers the 'space of silence' as 'strange', 'threatening' and 'unnatural'.[47] Another, also a West Berliner, recalls that 'it was pleasant.'[48] These descriptions of this space devoid of sound, a space of multiple meanings whether unsettling, calming or odd, are examples of Thirdspace perspectives. They indicate *espace vécu*, Lefebvre's lived space: that which combines the real, measurable, material space of the Wall with mental maps of it. Such Thirdspace recollections and descriptions are markedly different from the more common First and Secondspace depictions of the Wall. Beatt's film, which although critical of the Wall is nothing like the nature of newsreel footage and Cold War propaganda, and presents a very different space.

Both Dietrich's 'audible cartography' and Beatt's filmic framing of this divided cityspace are of relevance to my own charting of Berlin's spaces. Mike Crang and Nigel Thrift advise a degree of caution when applying the 'metaphor of mapping',[49] a warning echoed by Barney Warf who blames the 'explosion of cartography' in the fifteenth century for the 'Renaissance rationalisation of

[45] It is worth reiterating here that Dietrich's essay, unlike my own endeavour, considers only city sounds, not those from the mediated ether.
[46] Nicole Dietrich, 'Berlin sounds: audible cartography of a formerly divided city', in *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century*, ed. by Feiereisen and Merley Hill, 2012, pp. 95-110 (p. 104).
[47] Dietrich, 'Berlin Sounds', in *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century*, ed. by Feiereisen and Merley Hill, 2012, pp. 95-110 (p. 105).
[48] Dietrich, 'Berlin Sounds', in *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century*, ed. by Feiereisen and Merley Hill, 2012, pp. 95-110 (p. 106).
[49] Crang and Thrift, *Thinking Space* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000), p. 2.

space'[50] that gave rise to the age of ocularcentricism. Nevertheless, mapping is an analogy ingrained in the conceptualisation of space, one that reveals its roots in geography, and it is the geographer Edward Soja who informs much of my endeavour, not least for the consideration of what he terms cityspace. Soja asserts for the geographically unaware, that maps distort, and that 'they can never present an accurate picture of reality', and he turns to Foucault to refute the notion that cityspace is fixed.[51] If maps cannot be fixed, it does not necessarily negate their benefit for the figurative navigation of space. Deleuze's reflection that 'each map finds itself modified in the following map, rather than finding its origin in the preceding one'[52] not only highlights the dynamic and multidimensional potential of maps, but it also advocates why, in my consideration of Berlin's divided cityspace, I start with a 'map' – Beatt's film – produced at the very end of the period, in 1988.

Beatt's film starts and finishes without dialogue, in near silence at what was perhaps the most iconic stretch of Wall, the Brandenburg Gate. Yet this is about all we see and hear of the city 'proper'. Fairly swiftly, Swinton is cycling through what is to all intents and purposes rural space. The peace and quiet is so striking that for those whose only spatial experience of the Wall is limited to a mediated, Secondspace perspective, or to use Lefebvre's as well as Soja's terminology, a *perceived* spatial perspective, it comes as rather a shock, as it does for Swinton. The Wall that is the manifestation of those imaginations informed only by second-hand sources (images, literature, news reports, history books, anecdotes) is, more often than not, perceived through a Cold War lens fitted with a propagandistic filter. It could be argued that such a Secondspace is thereby most commonly characterised as a conflict-ridden, dangerous realm that is anything but quiet. As if to make up for the Wall's silence, Beatt mixes her own, diegetic sound with a constructed collage. A sound wall, no less. And there, in the diegetic/non-diegetic split of the soundtrack, is an example of sonic Thirdspace. Beatt's camera and sound equipment pick up elements that hail from Firstspace: the concrete walls, the observation towers, the death strip; everything, at least for the authorities, shown at the site of the Wall is *conceived* as a reality, even if it is ignored by those who live in the West. Authorities deployed in the GDR's broadcasting studios at Adlershof, for instance, or within

[50] Warf and Arias, *Spatial Turn*, 2009, p. 61.
[51] Soja, *Postmetropolis*, 2000, p. 9.
[52] Gilles Deleuze in Crang and Thrift, eds., *Thinking Space*, 2000, p. 21.

the newsrooms of *Neues Deutschland*[53] whose job has far more to do with perception, indeed *perceived* spaces, might well confine their view of the Wall, at least in their official function, within the boundaries of Secondspace. Such conjecture could be considered out of place here, but it signals the nature of questions that will be asked of radio depictions of space in the case studies.

Beatt uses non-diegetic sound to various effects but it is essentially a sonic projection that constitutes a sonic Secondspace which, when mixed with images of the Wall, becomes an audio-visual Thirdspace. Take, for instance, a series of shots of house facades in leafy, West Berlin suburbs. We hear non-diegetic soundscapes that imagine the conversations that might be going on inside. Or take the images of the surface of the abandoned factory juxtaposed with studio-produced sounds of broken glass. The mismatch between image and sound tracks is, at times, jarring and implies a wide gap between Secondspace and Firstspace, between expectations and the concrete 'reality'. Yet, as observed above, the diegetic sounds of birdsong, frogs, insects, farm machinery and wind in the trees is just as unexpected for Swinton whose remarks suggest that the Wall she imagined is very different from the one with which she is confronted. It is the last frame – a widening shot of Swinton standing in front of the Wall at the Brandenburg Gate with her back to camera, looking East – that reminds us from which perspective the 'frame' is ultimately being presented. Beatt's film depicts the Western side of the Wall in manifestations of all three of Lefebvre's spaces: conceived, perceived and lived. But the film does not merely represent these spaces, but actively plays a part in creating them, for ultimately, it is a spatial entity of its very own. As Lefebvre observes, space is not a given; it is produced, a notion crucial for a deeper understanding of the media's relation with space.

Beatt's filmic map of the Wall and the space that lies either side of it predominantly charts silence. By way of contrast, a typical transport network map from East Berlin renders West Berlin as either absent or existing, but empty, devoid of life, let alone train and tramlines. The map in figure 1.7, for instance, shows the distortional potential of maps and reveals how bound up knowledge, power and politics are with the production of space. West Berlin is both present and absent on this map. Produced here is an example of

[53] *Neues Deutschland* was the GDR's official party-faithful newspaper, seen by many as an organ of the state.

Firstspace, a measurable entity configured politically. The result is a distorted, empty space, its outline defined as the *Staatsgrenze*. My research seeks to explore not only such GDR officially sanctioned Firstspaces, but also to ask how West Berlin looked (or sounded) from the eastern side of the border when they adopted a Secondspace and Thirdspace perspective. One might contend that the last space was not open to the citizens of East Berlin, but this map shows otherwise. Even if the space was shut off to them, its material existence was not entirely denied by the authorities, and for many its taunting promise of freedom constituted an imagined utopia. Soja considers such utopian spaces as Thirdspace, and it is the media's role in the production of such spaces that also features in my research.

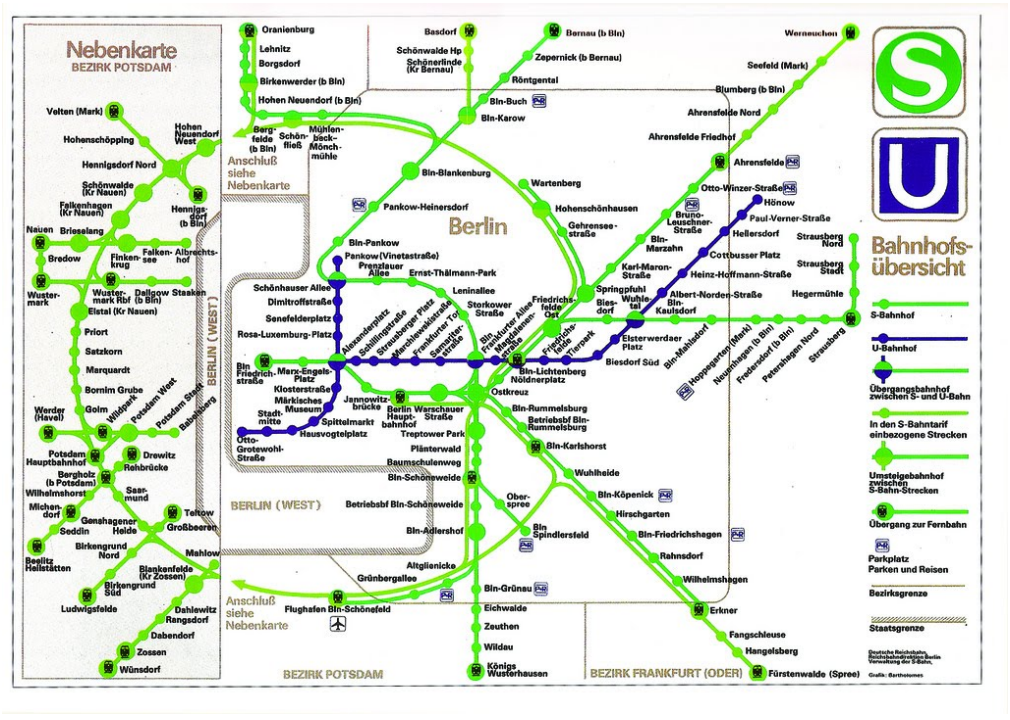


Figure 1.7: Public transport map for Berlin (Source: Berliner Verkehrsbetriebe)

A sonic example of such a spatial phenomenon is provided by Dietrich although she does not evaluate the ontological implications of space in depth. One of her interviewees recalls the train station Friedrichstraße, an intersection where Eastern and Western train lines and platforms co-existed only metres apart from one another, albeit in separate, sealed off sections of the station. Dietrich's interviewee, who hails from the former East, remembers being able to hear the announcements from the Western platforms: 'long distance train to Munich, platform … please board now … please step back … the train to Hamburg is

delayed five minutes.'[54] Dietrich describes such an experience as 'horrifying'. It is an example of a taunting, torturous, almost distopian Thirdspace. Interestingly, Dietrich details how, in 1984, the GDR authorities erected large, steel, noise barriers at the station, coated with a so-called anti-sound surface, so that the two sound worlds were no longer accessible. This is a perfect example of how political power eradicates Thirdspace, showing that just as space, in this case a sonic space, can be produced, it can also be erased, at least in part. Radio, as this thesis demonstrates, is not so easily erased in spite of jamming.

Finally, another of Dietrich's interviewees provides a good example of a different manifestation of Thirdspace. For a GDR citizen, adopting a Secondspace and Thirdspace perspective was the only form of experiencing the West, a form of escapism. But as Soja has conjectured, Lefebvre's *espace vécu* could also be a site of resistance.[55] Dietrich draws upon memories of the 1987 *Rock for Berlin* concert, held on the Western side of the Brandenburg Gate. Her interviewee, from the former East, recollects the crowds of East Berliners that gathered on the other side, on Unter den Linden for this 'rare moment of shared acoustic experience.'[56] He remarks 'Certainly, you could have heard it much better on the radio, but it was a sort of collective experience …'[57] He is, needless to say, referring to West Berlin radio, and his comment reveals the utter normalcy of a shared, mediated space that, for the Easterners could be a site of resistance. But the limits that listening imposes upon resistance are made clear by what happens next in this man's recollection: '[we] began to shout, "The Wall needs to go!" '[58] This brief, acoustic site of resistance is participatory. East Berliners, quite used to sharing the acoustic space of the West as listeners, finally reciprocate within the same space. According to Dietrich's anecdote, David Bowie – on stage at the time – insisted that the speakers be turned round, towards the listeners on the other side of the Wall. As Dietrich observes, this shared, sonic space was broadcast by the Western

[54] Dietrich, 'Berlin Sounds', in *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century*, ed. by Feiereisen and Merley Hill, 2012, pp. 95-110 (p. 103).
[55] Edward Soja in Jannson and Lagerkvist, eds., *Strange Spaces,* 2009, p. 37.
[56] Dietrich, 'Berlin Sounds', in *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century*, ed. by Feiereisen and Merley Hill, 2012, pp. 95-110 (p. 106).
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

media into 'all households',[59] putting the Eastern side of the city back on the map in a mediated Thirdspace shared by the entire city.[60]

1.3 Mediaspace

Having probed the spatial implications of filmic representations and sonically informed recollections of Berlin's cityspace, this section addresses its mediaspace, asking what it is and how it interacts with the multiple dimensions of cityspace. Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy argue that it is 'ever more difficult to tell a story of social space without also telling a story of media, and vice versa'.[61] Yet, as already touched upon, there is a dearth of work on mediated, sonic space in the recent contributions to the sonic and spatial turn. When applied to mediaspace, Lefebvre's mantra – space is produced, not given – begs the question 'produced by whom?' André Jansson and Amanda Lagerkvist observe that the producers of mediaspace – the broadcasting institutions and publishing operations behind the headlines – wield the 'power to pervade our […] lives, practices and values'.[62] Jansson and Lagerkvist also explore the notion that mediaspace is a vague and above all opaque space. Taking their cue from Lefebvre, they seek to unveil what this blurred space hides and to expose the 'unutterable thirdspaces, nowheres and underworlds'[63] and the 'spaces beyond, behind or between the dominant structures of control and exploitation'.[64] Their work is useful for my own because it highlights the 'concealed spaces of media power […] hidden behind mediation itself'.[65] Who, for instance, is 'hidden' behind RIAS or Berliner Rundfunk? Where exactly does the editorial control lie? Such questions still hold relevance today, beyond the politics and propaganda of the Cold War. In spatial terms, Jansson and Lagerkvist differentiate between 'mediatization' and 'mediation'. The former refers to the saturation and, I would add, the behaviour of media in space, whereas the latter refers to the spaces media re-articulates. They assert that space is overburdened by media, and that this saturation renders mediaspace

[59] Ibid.
[60] Similar significance is given to Bruce Springsteen's concert in East Berlin on 19 July 1988. See Erik Kirschbaum, *Bruce Springsteen: Rocking the Wall. The Berlin Concert that Changed the World* (Berlin: Berlinica, 2013).
[61] Couldry and McCarthy, eds., *Mediaspace*, 2004, p. 1.
[62] Jansson and Lagerkvist, eds., *Strange Spaces*, 2009, p. 22.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Couldry and McCarthy, eds., *Mediaspace,* 2009, p. 18.
[65] Couldry and McCarthy, eds., *Mediaspace,* 2009, p. 20.

'increasingly strange'[66] and 'obscure'.[67] This is particularly relevant, because they also argue that the media 'guide [our] appropriation of space',[68] or put in Lefebvre's terms, it produces space.

There is a particularly spatial element to some of the GDR propaganda about the city's media of the time. Figure 1.8 shows a poster from 1952. It warns against listening to RIAS. The use of stars and stripes to identify the acronym RIAS seems superfluous considering its very clear meaning – Radio im Amerikanischen Sektor. On the other hand, it serves to remind Eastern listeners of the producers of the so-called poison (*Gift*). Inadvertently perhaps, depicted as the only radio station 'mediatizing' Berlin's airspace, it also acknowledges the dominant presence of the station within the city, signalling that the controllers of RIAS (the U.S. Mission) are achieving their aims of reaching as many Berliners as possible. The image of poison and bombs only seven years after the end of the war not only renders the RIAS airspace as threatening but also as traumatic, lending both a militaristic quality (as depicted by the bombs), and a strangely deceitful quality (as depicted by the poison) to the mediaspace.

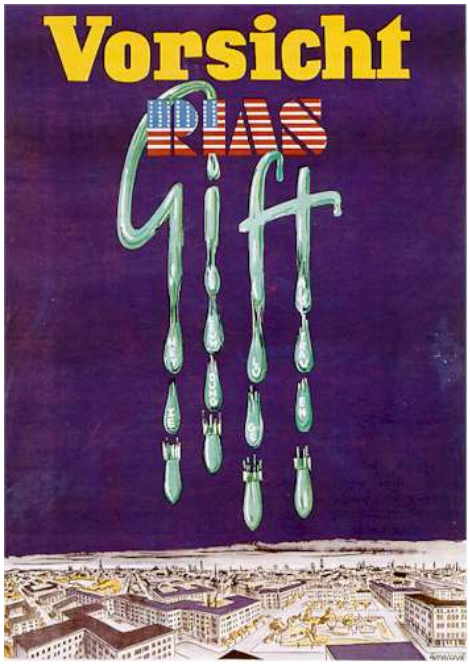


Figure 1.8: GDR propaganda warning its citizens against infected airspace. (Source: Deutsches Historisches Museum)

[66] Couldry and McCarthy, eds., *Mediaspace,* 2009, p. 12.
[67] Couldry and McCarthy, eds., *Mediaspace,* 2009, p.3.
[68] Couldry and McCarthy, eds., *Mediaspace,* 2009, p. 19.

So, what is the nature of Berlin's mediaspace? The radio signal's disregard for Cold War Berlin's political borders points to a fundamental difference between the nature of politically-demarcated space and that defined by technology. The radio wave could roam within or hail from spaces citizens in the East could not. Berlin's 'listening zones' did not, by any means, correspond with its political zones where those in the Soviet sector tuned in to the West inconspicuously, with the volume turned down so that they could not be detected and denounced by those listening in. Exactly how these two topographies differ is an over-arching question to be asked of the case studies of this thesis. Before exploring the actual spaces the media both re-articulate and serve (chapters two – five), it is necessary to consider the 'spatiality' of the medium and how it differs from other media.

Consideration of the depiction of RIAS airspace serves as a prelude to the exploration of the concept of the spatiality of the radio medium. Radio space is both tangible and intangible. It is tangible because radio technology leaves a very visual marker on the landscape of cities, and Berlin is no exception. Just as the *Rundfunkturm*, built in 1926, became an object of fascination for Bauhaus artist Laszlo Maholy-Nagy (see figure 1.9), the *Funkturm* or *Fernsehturm* (see figure 1.10), built by the GDR in 1967, remains, to this day, an icon that not only dominates the city skyline but also adorns t-shirts, coffee mugs and cloth bags.

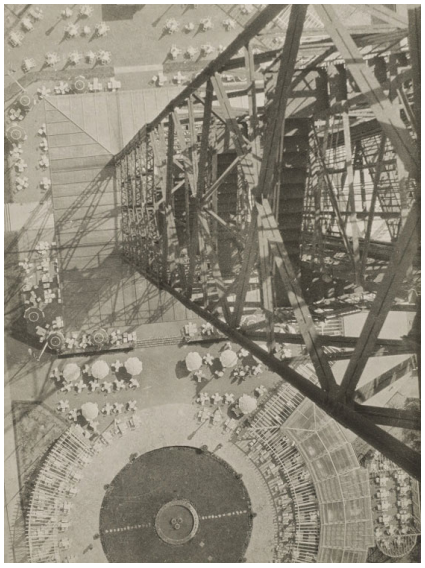


Figure 1.9: László Moholy-Nagy, View from Radio Tower, Berlin, ca. 1928 (Source: Galerie Berinson, Berlin)

Figure 1.10: Berlin's broadcasting towers in the East and West. (Source: Associated Press)

In her contribution to the volume by Broadbent and Hake on Berlin, Heather Gumbert asserts that antagonistic rhetoric in the form of 'propaganda programming' was by no means the only 'front' of the media Cold War.[69] She observes that because of the post-war redistribution of airwaves in Europe, Berlin's occupying forces actually 'fought over airwaves' before they 'fought over messages'.[70] Plotting technological territory – a rather abstract endeavour – certainly bore fruits: Heiner Stahl, in his contribution to the same volume notes that RIAS commandeered the strongest frequency from 1946 onwards, as implied by figure 1.8.

Gumbert goes so far as to suggest that the construction of the *Fernsehturm* 'perhaps even managed to eclipse the impact of that other famous, and rather less optimistic, East German building project of the 1960s: the Berlin Wall'.[71] This assertion has great impact upon my own consideration of the divided city's real, concrete map and that charted by broadcasting infrastructure. Yet, it is arguable just how much more 'optimistic' the *Fernsehturm* really was, despite the technological progress (including television) it was supposed to symbolise. It also served as an 'ideological and

[69] Heather Gumbert, 'Building the East German television tower', in *Berlin: Divided City*, ed. by Philip Broadbent and Sabine Hake (New York: Berghahn, 2010), pp. 89-99 (p. 90).
[70] Ibid.
[71] Gumbert, 'Building the East German television tower', in *Berlin: Divided City*, ed. by Philip Broadbent and Sabine Hake, 2010, pp. 89-99 (p. 89).

military weapon'[72] – as Brandon LaBelle asserts – that 'interfere[d] with the reception of radio signals'.[73] In other words, it both broadcast *and* received radio signals, in the form of broadcasting and intelligence gathering respectively.

In addition to its transmission towers, Berlin's broadcasting houses are of some significance with regard to how they shaped the city. As detailed in the introduction, Haus des Rundfunks was a Soviet enclave within the British sector from the end of the war until 1956. Signs were posted outside the building warning West Berliners that Berliner Rundfunk was not a Western station despite its geographical location[74] (see figure 1.11). Conversely, cities shape the appearance of radios (see figure 1.12). The mapping of technological territory is exceptionally visual, particularly within this era. Radio stations' frequencies, identified as cities on the dial of a receiver quite literally provide a media map, and in the case of a world receiver, an alternative world atlas.

Figure 1.11: Haus des Rundfunks, a Soviet enclave within the British Sector until 1956, surrounded by barbed wire. (Source: Deutsche Rundfunk-Archiv)

[72] Brandon LaBelle, 'Transmission Culture', in *Re-inventing Radio: Aspects of Radio as Art*, ed. by Grundmann, Heidi (Frankfurt am Main: Revolver, 2008), pp- 63-83 (p. 64).
[73] Ibid.
[74] Büttner, *Haus des Rundfunks*, 1965, p. 65.

Figure 1.12: World receiver dial (Source: Esme Nicholson)

Interesting as radio's visual markers are, radio space is ultimately acoustic. Competing radio stations use aural markers – jingles – to chart their frequencies. The famous RIAS jingle is particularly interesting. Richard Cavell remarks about Marshall McLuhan's spatial observations that 'we can hear that space communicates by listening to the ringing of a bell'.[75] Heiner Stahl, in reference to the Berlin's actual acoustic space, mentions the daily ringing of the Freedom Bell from the Schöneberger Rathaus. Stahl's analysis focuses upon non-radio created soundscapes, but it is interesting to note here, how RIAS appropriates as its jingle a real, existing acoustic marker from a politically significant space. This is where John F. Kennedy gave his speech in 1963, the radio coverage of which constitutes the focus of analysis in chapter three. Interestingly, the Schöneberger Rathaus' freedom bell can be heard from inside the old RIAS building, where Deutschlandradio sits today; it is as if a reminder of RIAS still rings out for today's Deutschlandradio producers, editors and presenters. Jingles are not the only aural flags that plot radio territory. To this day, BBC Radio 4 and Germany's equivalent *Deutschlandfunk* play the British and German national anthems respectively, at the 'close' of each day, the former at 1am, the latter at midnight. Although such aural flag waving is not to everybody's tastes, it is certainly a very clear plotting of space; it reminds you where you are.

[75] Cavell, *McLuhan in Space*, 2003, p. 138.

Conceptually trickier to grasp, are the less tangible, more invisible spaces of radio. In his 1986 volume *Understanding Radio*, Andrew Crisell identifies the visual bias that prevails even when it comes to considering what he, both tellingly and ironically, terms the '*blind* medium'.[76] If, following Crisell's assertion, radio is blind, describing its relation to space proves quite a challenge. As discussed in the opening section of this chapter, the phenomenon of space within the humanities is described, primarily, in visual terms. Crisell notes that radio's blindness 'appeal[s] to the imagination', and then almost chastises himself for using sight as an 'epistemological yardstick',[77] explaining that imagination derives from image. Claudia Krebs, in her exposition on Siegfried Kracauer's writings on radio and sound in the Weimar Republic, argues that Kracauer's unsystematic approach to the medium – 'eine Reihe von diskontinuierlichen Fragment-Analysen'[78] – is still very much prevalent today. Interesting here, is Kracauer's own grounding in visual culture as a 'Filmmann'[79] despite his wearing many other hats. In *The Audible Past*, Jonathan Sterne attempts to defy the 'visual hegemony'[80] within the humanities – such as how 'the gaze haunts several schools of feminism'.[81] He re-assesses modernity based on sound culture rather than the hitherto privileged sense of sight. It would seem that sound and visual theories are bound to one another, even for a medium that hides under what McLuhan refers to as a 'cloak of invisibility'.[82] McLuhan scholar Richard Cavell notes that 'we remain "blind" to acoustic space, largely because we cling to the certainties of visual culture – the space with which we are most familiar'. McLuhan himself remarks: 'We are so visually biased that we call our wisest men visionaries, or seers!'[83] So how easy is it to 'abandon the visual imperative'?[84] Before attempting to define radio space in any more detail, some further clarification is needed of what is meant by radio.

Radio technology serves two main purposes: to broadcast and to receive, and these two technologies differ greatly. The radio broadcaster utilizes a great deal more technology than the radio listener; these include recording devices,

---

[76] Andrew Crisell, *Understanding Radio* (London: Routledge, 1986), p. 3.
[77] Crisell, *Understanding Radio*, 1986, p. 8.
[78] Claudia Krebs, *Radio: Zwischen kritischer Darstellung, Theorie, Experiment; Forschungsbeiträge zum Radio in einigen europäischen Ländern* (Berlin: Avinus, 2008), p. 62.
[79] Krebs, *Radio*, 2008, p. 54.
[80] Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 2.
[81] Sterne, *Audible Past*, 2003, p. 3.
[82] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media* (London: Sphere, 1967), p. 322
[83] Ibid.
[84] Cavell, *McLuhan in Space*, 2003, p. 139.

microphones, headphones, studios, mixing desks and, finally, transmitters. The radio listener uses just one device, the receiver. Correspondingly, the spaces of the broadcaster and the listener are both numerous and contrasting. Although one studio is very much like another, with its 'impermeable walls'[85] and standard, cocooned acoustic, exactly how a producer in the field makes use of his or her microphone, how much sound he or she 'collects' and how he or she mixes the finished product during editing will have an effect on the depiction or narration of space. How this particular 'piece' of radio is received also varies greatly. Broadcast theorist Paddy Scannell observes that 'broadcasters, while they control the discourse, do not control the communicative context'.[86] This lack of control, heightened by 'radio's gaps between transmission and reception'[87] is of great significance within the context of the Cold War; how the authorities in the East and the West attempted to take control of and influence radio signals – with their inherent 'tendency to stray'[88] is of central importance to this thesis.

Space implies location, yet, as René Wolf asserts,[89] radio dislocates its listeners, not only spatially but also in temporal terms: 'the immediacy of the broadcast lifts us out of the immediacy of our own lives'.[90] Yet, if listeners are dislocated from 'real' life, what space do they occupy whilst receiving a broadcast? Durham Peters is quick to point out that radio audiences are 'consociate'[91] rather than 'congregate' assemblies, that they are 'united in imagination not location'. With some exceptions,[92] radio audiences do not sit side by side like the rows of cinema goers, who sit together in a clearly defined, darkened space confronted with less clearly defined spaces projected onto the screen, itself a defined, framed space. Crisell observes that radio messages, unlike newspaper messages, exist primarily in time rather than space. [93] Wolf and Scannell suggest that radio technology actually organises time, thus 'bringing the modern industrial world into the home'[94] with its 'constant time-

[85] John Durham Peters, *Speaking into the Air: A History of the Idea of Communication* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 213.
[86] Paddy Scannell, *Broadcast Talk* (Newbury Park, California: Sage, 1991), p.3.
[87] Durham Peters, *Speaking into the Air*, 1999, p. 212.
[88] Durham Peters, *Speaking into the Air*, 1999, p. 207.
[89] Wolf, *Undivided Sky*, 2010, p. 19.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Durham Peters, *Speaking into the Air*, 1999, p. 217.
[92] One exception is the communal, public listening during the Airlift of 1948–1949.
[93] Crisell, *Understanding Radio*, 1986, p. 6.
[94] Wolf, *Undivided Sky*, 2010, p. 19.

checks and repetitions of schedules'.[95] Even the term news coverage implies spatiality. Print coverage is measured in column inches whereas television and radio coverage is measured in minutes and seconds. A radio reporter out in the field might pitch a dispatch to the news desk, and he or she will be expected to negotiate for his or her airspace – or airtime – of, say 40 rather than 30 seconds.

Harold Innis assumes radio is *not* spatial. Writing in 1951, he asserts that 'spatially biased media such as writing, printing, and more recently photography, emphasize visuality over orality, the eye over the ear, and space over time'.[96] McLuhan, whom Innis greatly influenced, refutes this and argues that sound creates space. I would argue that radio listening space is not entirely temporal in nature. Siegfried Kracauer's article *Das Klavier*[97] tells of how the arrival of a new piece of furniture – the radio – causes suffering in another 'schwarze Holzkiste', the piano, now redundant. The actual space in which radio is listened to certainly influences how it is received. Rudolf Arnheim insists that radio 'talks to everyone individually, not to everyone together'. His advice: '… the radio-speaker should proceed softly and as if *à deux*'[98] contends persuasively that the sensitive broadcaster also plays a part in this creation of space, not just the medium's technology. To believe otherwise would be considered technologically determinist.

Returning to the nature of the radio signal and the space it 'inhabits', John Durham Peters' consideration of the original meaning of 'broadcast' is interesting, especially because its German translation is not etymologically equal. 'To broadcast', as Durham Peters elucidates, was originally an agricultural term, meaning 'to scatter' and 'to sow', the free character of which befits the way in which the radio signal behaves. In German, the terms 'senden', 'funken' and 'ausstrahlen' are used to describe how a broadcaster transmits or sends its messages. None have the same agricultural reference to 'scattering' that the established English term has. 'Senden' implies a more direct, more purposeful route from broadcaster – or *Sender* – to listener. 'Funken', the substantive of which can mean 'spark', is perhaps closest to the interpretation of the term 'broadcast'. And because its dispersal is powered by

[95] Ibid.
[96] Harold Innis in Couldry and McCarthy, *Mediaspace,* 2004, p. 61.
[97] Siegfried Kracauer, *Straßen in Berlin und anderswo* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2009), pp. 107-13.
[98] Rudolf Arnheim, *Radio* (1936; New York: Arno Press, 1986), pp. 71-72.

electricity, 'funken' is perhaps the most apt term, which in McLuhan's school of thought – 'the medium is the message' – would imply volatility and explosive potential, betraying the medium's simultaneous attraction and danger to political authorities. Irrespective of the differing derivation of terms used to describe radio technology, the waves behave in the same manner regardless of where they originate. The spaces travelled and carved by signals cannot be controlled entirely by those scattering them. It is this ungovernable aspect of the radio wave that brings us, finally, to the political nature of space and the work of Jürgen Habermas.

1.4 The Politics of Space and the Media

> Der Rundfunk ist aus einem Distributionsapparat in einen Kommunikationsapparat zu verwandeln. Der Rundfunk wäre der denkbar großartigste Kommunikationsapparat des öffentlichen Lebens, ein ungeheures Kanalsystem, das heißt, er wäre es, wenn er es verstünde, nicht nur auszusenden, sondern auch zu empfangen, also den Zuhörer nicht nur hören, sondern auch sprechen zu machen und ihn nicht zu isolieren, sondern ihn in Beziehung zu setzen. Der Rundfunk müßte demnach aus dem Lieferantentum herausgehen und den Hörer als Lieferanten organisieren.
>
> — Bertolt Brecht[99]

Brecht does not see the radio as a medium of communication, but merely as an apparatus for the one-sided distribution of information. In his 1932 speech about the function of radio, he advocates developing a communication avenue that affords reciprocity. Media and social theorist Nicholas Garnham, who laments the widespread 'prestige and currency'[100] of technologically determined views about progress and the information society, argues that Brecht failed to recognise that radio technology enables but does not control the dissemination of information. Garnham derides Brecht's appeal for a two-way radio, and points out that it is his 'technological ignorance'[101] that has prevented him from realising he was talking about the telephone. But, in its idealism for upholding democratic values, Brecht's imagined radio – the 'Kommunikationsapparat des

[99] Bertolt Brecht, 'Rede über die Funktion des Rundfunks' (1932) in *Rundfunk und Fernsehen in Deutschland,* ed. by Diller 1985), pp. 54-56 (p. 54).
[100] Garnham, *Emancipation, the Media and Modernity*, 2000, p. 66.
[101] Garnham, *Emancipation, the Media and Modernity*, 2000, p. 68.

öffentlichen Lebens' shares something in common with Jürgen Habermas' theories of communicative action and the public sphere. Fashioned upon the nineteenth-century coffee house ideal, two-way discussions are the *sine qua non* of Habermas' public sphere. And here is the rub. Although he has since revised his hesitant stance towards the mass media, a pessimism pervades throughout *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (hereafter STPS) because Habermas concludes that broadcasting is not conducive to dialogue, let alone 'rational-critical debate'.[102] Even if, as Habermas acknowledges, 'the sphere of the public realm has expanded' with broadcasting, the one-way flow of information is susceptible to centralised control.[103] This is one aspect of Habermas' 'tragic narrative'[104] about the decline of the public sphere in which he bemoans the 'engineering' of public opinion and the shift from debate to consumption and the radio audience's increasing passivity. But, as Clive Barnett contends, 'this possibility of control is always precarious'.[105] He notes the unpredictability and uncertainty of broadcast media, that as a media public, it is 'essentially ungovernable'.[106] Like Habermas, he also lauds broadcasting for increasing the accessibility to public life, but unlike Habermas in STPS, still sees democratic potential in the mass-mediated public sphere. This is of particular significance for my enquiry, because it begins to address to what extent radio was able to overcome, even undermine, Berlin's political borders, if at all.

So, by drawing upon the analytical categories Habermas provides in STPS, we may probe the political nature of space in divided Berlin as defined by radio, asking for instance, to what extent radio helps to construct and maintain contested space? And to what extent it undermines and deconstructs it? Habermas categorises space into the private and the public. The (patriarchal) family and the market economy belong to the private realm; and the state constitutes the public realm. The public sphere mediates between the two. Essentially, STPS is a history of the development of the public sphere,

---

[102] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1989) p. 188.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Clive Barnett, *Culture and Democracy: Media, Space and Representation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), p. 56.
[105] Barnett, *Culture and Democracy*, 2003, p. 59.
[106] Barnett, *Culture and Democracy*, 2003, p. 101.

from the coffee house to the 'pre-eminent institution'[107] of the press. As touched upon above, Habermas classifies the ideal public sphere as 'the institutional site where citizens constitute themselves as active agents in the political process'[108] and simultaneously laments the mass media's inability to uphold this democratic ideal. Many view Habermas' theory of communicative action as restrictive, as too rational. German radio scholar Kate Lacey, for instance, whose objections to Habermas stem from her feminist standpoint, argues that his concept of the public sphere is, nevertheless, useful as a 'measure of the proper functioning of a democracy'.[109] One might wonder, then, what the Habermasian model has to offer for an analysis of a non-democratic society; as the work's subtitle plainly states, it stems from an enquiry into a *bourgeois* society. But Berlin is a special case. Spatially, it is unique: two political systems in one, albeit divided space, served by numerous radio stations hailing from both systems. Consideration of the GDR in this context calls for Habermas because it too had access to the West's public sphere. Chapter five's analysis of the show *Radio Glasnost* draws upon Habermas for this very reason.

Officially, Habermas' categories of bourgeois space did not exist in the GDR with its centralised state economy. Even the family realm belonged to the state, at least in theory. And in practice, it was supervised by the Stasi. The public sphere did not exist because there was no freedom of expression. Following Habermas' model, the sole existing space in the GDR, on the surface at least, was that of public authority; everything belongs to the state. However, on account of its proximity, West Berlin offered East Berlin an alternative public sphere. This public sphere was – among others – RIAS, AFN, the BBC and SFB. Back on Habermas' democratic territory, it is questionable as to what extent the public sphere in the West also existed, at least in the theorist's ideal sense of it. Here, we return to Habermas' requisite reciprocity, and we do so with a concrete example. A two-way public sphere shared by both West and East Berliners can be found in the well-established practice of broadcasting *Hörerbriefe*, listeners' letters.

Taking as our example, letters sent to the RIAS radio programme *Treffpunkt* from young GDR citizens in the early to mid eighties, a public sphere

[107] Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 1992, p. 181.
[108] Kate Lacey, *Feminine Frequencies: Gender, German Radio, and the Public Sphere, 1923–1945* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1996), p. 228.
[109] Ibid.

of sorts becomes apparent. In addition to there being no official public sphere in the strictest of Habermasian terms in the GDR, there was, naturally, little official dialogue between East and West. Although diplomatic and political relations do not constitute the public sphere, the lack, and later, rarity of official dialogue renders the unofficial channels ever more astonishing and necessary. The nearest to a quasi East-West public sphere is the propaganda war, but it only includes official public – or state – viewpoints. The lack of real, engaged dialogue is poignantly underscored in a request letter from a railway worker in Werder, a small town just East of Potsdam. Dated 1986 and sent anonymously, she calls upon RIAS *Treffpunkt* to apologise on her behalf, that she does not wave back to West Berliners when their trains pass by the railway yard where she works: 'Bitte seid uns nicht böse, wenn wir nicht zurückwinken'.[110] She insists she aches to wave back, but cannot for fear of the consequences.

Other listeners use their letters to let off steam about their own circumstances, or they do so to set the record straight. These written contributions are like little dispatches. Many listeners write to complain about the lack of balance in RIAS' reporting, chiding them for only ever selecting the most extreme examples, for failing to present the nuances of life in the GDR, the full spectrum. In reacting to Western reports about their own society, and by attempting to engage with the Western listenership, these GDR citizens are participating in putting the picture right. This is something they cannot do to the same extent when it comes to reports about the forbidden West. Here, the radio is much more like the one Brecht wanted to improve upon and the one Habermas saw as the end of public debate. And yet, even this model based upon written feedback is exceptionally one-sided and imbalanced.

One letter is doused in nostalgia. It comes from a young man who, having escaped successfully to the West, misses RIAS *Treffpunkt.* Living in the West German city of Münster, he can no longer pick up RIAS' signal, and ironically, the letter is full of longing for a different West, for a mediated West and simultaneously for the attempted public sphere made possible by the programme. He reminisces how he used to sit and record the programmes onto cassette, cataloguing auditory glimpses of hope. Another letter reports of the consequences a friend faced after listening to the programme with the volume

[110] Herbert Kundler, *RIAS Berlin: eine Radio-Station in einer geteilten Stadt* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1994), p. 334.

turned up too high: 'ein vierstündiges Verhör bei der Stasi, Haussuchung, Androhung eines Strafverfahrens im Wiederholungsfall und 150 Mark Strafe sowie kostenloser Einzug der Kassette'.[111] Notwithstanding the listener's humorous take on the authorities' no extra cost confiscation of the cassette, this is an example of the covert Habermasian public sphere. In his analysis of Germany under Absolutism, Habermas charts how a public sphere existed among the *Tischgesellschaften* 'behind closed doors'.[112] Similarly, the GDR's 'sphere of publicity had [...] to rely on secrecy'.[113] It is divided Berlin's concealed public sphere, the vague spaces, the sites of resistance hiding within Thirdspace that I explore in detail in chapter five's analysis of *Radio Glasnost*.

Summary

This chapter's exposition of spatial theory comprises the following.
First, it addresses the visual bias of the spatial turn with reference to McLuhan's notion of acoustic space and assesses to what extent 'orality' and its purported non-fixed perspective serves my own exploration of audio space. Then it explores the three principal spaces presented by my research topic: Cityspace, Mediaspace and Political Space. Theoretical consideration of these spaces is relevant not only because of their unparalleled and extraordinary convergence in one city, but because the still relatively new field of radio research benefits from such an approach. It cannot be analysed using the well-established language and theory of musicology; it does not deal in pictures in the way that television does and broadcasting is fundamentally different from print because its space is also temporal. Furthermore, radio during this era offered a means of escape to spaces other than the concrete, Firstspace reality. Equally, it offered a means of infiltration and for this reason was exceedingly political. Ultimately, divided Berlin is about space and the two ideological spheres that meet there deem it a spatial subject of research.

[111] Kundler, *RIAS Berlin,*1999, p. 332.
[112] Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 1992, p. 35.
[113] Ibid.

Chapter 2

CHANGING SPACE: THE WALL AS NEWS EVENT

This case study serves as an introduction to the media spaces under consideration throughout my research project. It is the scene-setter, charting the topographical changes to a city as the Iron Curtain was becoming concrete.

Together with the rest of Germany, Berlin was divided among the victorious Allies at the Potsdam Conference immediately after the war in July and August 1945. The border between two emerging separate German states and systems was difficult to cross except in Berlin where East and West Germans could move relatively freely through checkpoints between the U.S., British, French and Soviet occupied zones. The divisions established at Potsdam deepened rapidly, particularly with the American provision of economic aid to West Germany, its subsequent currency reform in 1948, the Soviet blockade of West Berlin, the Western Allied airlift and the formal founding of the Federal Republic followed by the founding of the Democratic Republic in 1949. As the disparity between the realities of the GDR's centralised economy and the FRG's Marshall Plan-funded *Wirtschaftswunder* became noticeable, discontent in East Germany was rife, but quickly stifled by the authorities, as became apparent in 1953 when Soviet tanks crushed the workers' uprising of 17 June.[1] A desperate alternative to revolution was defection via Berlin. Some 2.7 million East German citizens voted with their feet between 1949 and 1961 leading to a 15 per cent reduction in the GDR population in the same period.[2] The damage this permanent brain drain was doing to the GDR economy was exacerbated by the *Grenzgänger*, the 60,000 East Germans who lived in or near East Berlin but commuted to West Berlin daily to work for better wages under better conditions, returning home at night to sleep in a significantly cheaper apartment.

It was, perhaps, inevitable that the GDR authorities would eventually stem the haemorrhage and close Berlin's border, even if, in June 1961, SED party leader Walter Ulbricht stated quite plainly in response to a question from a West

[1] See the introduction for details of RIAS' reporting of the workers' uprising in East Berlin in June 1953.
[2] Corey, Ross, 'East Germans and the Berlin Wall: popular opinion and social change before and after the border closure of August 1961', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (January 2004), 25-43 (p. 30).

German journalist 'Niemand hat die Absicht eine Mauer zu errichten'.[3] Nevertheless, when Berliners awoke on Sunday 13 August to find their city had, overnight, been severed by the erection of barbed wire, surprise and shock were overriding reactions, as the media responses considered within this chapter convey. Berlin had been divided into sectors for 16 years, but the sealing of its borders marked a radical and ruthless re-definition of the city's – now cities' – space. As became evident to Berliners throughout the day, the West had been cordoned off, declared a no-go area for those in the East, and justified by the GDR authorities as protective measures. Significant here is the space Ulbricht was unable to enclose; the city's, or rather, the cities' airwaves.

Drawing upon the geographer McKenzie Wark's differentiation between the spatial terms 'territory' and 'map', this chapter examines the media maps of Berlin charted by sound waves. It is the disparity between politically defined, spatially rigid 'territories' – solidified by the building of the Wall – and their various corresponding media 'maps' that renders the period 1961–1989 particularly relevant for a consideration of space. If radio is a mapping technology, its spaces are 'placeless'[4] and less tangible than the 'territories' they broadcast to, from and within. Insofar as it is possible, consideration therefore, is also be given to the gaps – be they First, Second or Thirdspace gaps – between the political, everyday rendition of one part of the city and their media representations.

Before considering the re-mapping of the city brought about by the media's response to the spaces created by the building of the Wall, this chapter examines radio reactions to the events of 13 August 1961, asking how the news was reported. In its sudden existence, the Wall – or its provisional barbed wire – becomes a broadcasting site or space in its own right regardless how adamantly the East attempted to ignore it, as news reporters flocked to the suddenly visible border to file news dispatches. Concurrently, reports that hail from sites not within the immediate vicinity from the beginnings of the Wall, such as underground stations, motorway border checkpoints and even a refugee camp in a Berlin suburb, point to the widespread ramifications of the border closure.

[3] see http://www.deutschlandradiokultur.de/niemand-hat-die-absicht-eine-mauer-zu-errichten.932.de.html?dram:article_id=131199, [accessed 1 August 2014].
[4] McKenzie Wark, *Virtual Geography: Living with Global Media Events* (Indiana University Press: Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1994), p. 63.

The opening analyses of this chapter examine how the news of the building of the Wall was reported, both from the site of the Wall and out of its sight. Then the chapter asks to what extent the Wall exists in radio terms by considering another new broadcasting space, as carved by the 'Studio am Stacheldraht' which 'aired' within a limited range, via speakers set up in front of the Wall. Consideration of radio reports about this makeshift, adversary 'broadcasting site', a form of electronic, sound wall perfectly demonstrate Scannell's notion of double space: the event itself – in this case a pseudo radio station broadcasting in the street space on the western side of the Wall – and the event as experienced via the media. The final analyses of this chapter consider radio technology's role in re-mapping new territories carved out by the rapidly emerging Wall.

Although the Wall eventually resulted in a degree of political and economic stability for the systems on either side of it, the initial period in which guards and barbed wire demarcated where the Wall would eventually stand, watched-over by the same guards, is one of instability, one of transition as it gradually became apparent that the border was to remain permanent, and permanently closed for those on its eastern side. It is the change itself, the construction of the Wall – rather than its 28-year existence to follow – that constitutes a large-scale, news event.

2.1. Radio Reactions to the Wall: How the News was Reported

2.1.1 The Wall as a Broadcasting Site

Olaf Briese, in his contribution to Marc Silberman's book *The German Wall,* chronicles the aesthetics of the Wall, drawing constantly upon the distinction between how the West and how the East viewed it, namely how the former did and how the latter did not.[5] Specifically, he observes how, for the West, the Wall was 'aesthetically monumental',[6] and how for the East, it was 'the embodiment of a secret'.[7] Although the measures taken on an unsuspecting Sunday in August could not be entirely ignored by the Eastern radio reporters in the immediate media aftermath, there exists a marked difference in focus between reports from either side of the border. In the West, images – and descriptions –

[5] Olaf Briese, 'The Different Aesthetics of the Berlin Wall', in *The German Wall: Studies in European Culture and History*, ed. by Marc Silberman (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2011), pp. 37-57.
[6] Ibid. (p. 50).
[7] Ibid.

of barbed wire simultaneously raised hopes that the measures may be 'provisional'[8] whilst also evoking the sense of 'imprisonment'. In the East, the authorities used the opportunity to refer to it as protection against an 'impending invasion by the "capitalist imperialists"',[9] where it became known officially as an *antifaschistischer Schutzwall* – an antifascist bulwark.

Henning Wrage's chapter in Silberman's volume, entitled 'Politics, Culture, and Media before and after the Berlin Wall', claims that television was '*the* Cold War medium'[10] and he correspondingly focuses solely on televisual media. Whilst there is no denying his assertion, the absence of radio within his exposition is an oversight that may be attributed to the dominance of the image. The first piece of audio material to be considered here is a perfect demonstration of this phenomenon. As we turn to this primary source, it is fitting to do so with Couldry and McCarthy's observation in mind: 'our object of analysis is never just a collection of texts but a specific and material organisation of space'.[11]

The first source to be analysed is a short report aired on Sunday 13 August by the West Berlin station Sender Freies Berlin (SFB) lasting one minute, twenty-five seconds.[12] It is a dispatch filed from the scene, on location at the border where the Wall is being rendered in barbed wire before the reporter's very eyes, and consequently, the radio listeners' very ears. Following a loose broadcasting standard, the reporter announces where he is standing at the top of the piece: 'Ecke Brunnenstraße / Bernauer Straße'. He also mentions the gathered crowds present, as if to justify his choice of location along the almost 160-kilometre barbed-wire stretch. His tone of voice is temperate and calm. We hear him swallow which, together with a brief breathlessness, betrays a slight nervousness. The background actuality[13] matches the reporter's tone: with just a murmur of voices and a motor running, the scene appears to be a quiet one, despite the 'große Menschenansammlungen'. A strangely serene

[8] Ross, 'East Germans and the Berlin Wall', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 2004, 25-43 (p. 33).
[9] Ibid.
[10] Henning Wrage, 'Politics, culture, and media before and after the Berlin Wall', in *The German Wall*: *Studies in European Culture and History*, ed. by Marc Silberman (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2011), pp. 59-76 (p. 64).
[11] Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy, eds., *Mediaspace*, 2004, p. 4.
[12] Georg Kronburger, 'SFB-Reportage von der Ecke Brunnenstraße / Bernauer Straße', RIAS, 13 August 1961, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ001483.
[13] *Actuality* is a broadcasting term used to describe sound other than that spoken by the reporter. This might include general sound (referred to as *atmos* or *ambi*), *vox populi* and longer interviews. The reporter's 'text' is often referred to as *links*.

setting emerges in which onlookers are standing, watching and waiting for something to happen. The reporter's apparently simplistic opening description sets up a sense of suspense both typical of good news reporting and plausibly the result of the unfolding situation.

The scene the reporter is setting is much filmed and photographed. The images of people jumping out of windows of the tenement buildings directly at the border as the East German authorities brick up the windows on the lower floors are well known (see figures 2.1 – 2.3). This radio report documents the brief period of time that precedes these particular incidents brought about by the border closure. Only today, with media-aided hindsight, does such a prelude take on particular poignancy, knowing now the images that would be captured in the following days.

Figure 2.1: A GDR soldier bricks up the windows in the tenement buildings at the border on 14 August 1961. (Source: Klaus Lehnartz, regierungonline.de)

Figure 2.2: GDR residents flee West through houses at the border. (Source: Alex Waidmann, Ullstein Verlag)

Figure 2.3: GDR residents flee West through houses at the border. (Source: Landesarchiv Berlin)

Returning to the reporter's account of the scene, it appears quite neutral. This apparent balance is generated by his use of repetition, describing bystanders and onlookers 'auf der westlichen Seite' and 'auf der östlichen Seite'. He mentions both police forces, the *VoPos* and the West Berlin police, as if there were a mirror in place of the barbed wire. He even pleads with the listener to take some of what he says as an assumption, exercising a degree of journalistic caution expected – at least on the surface – from the Western press at the time. Practical factors probably account for the fact that he paraphrases others he has consulted at the scene, rather than incorporating their voices as soundbites. Either he has had no time to conduct and edit *vox populi*, or their absence is a consequence of editorial considerations; *vox populi* may have destroyed the quiet tone of the piece. It is unlikely that such an 'omission' is a deliberate attempt to manipulate the weighting of his reporting.

The reporter of this dispatch, Georg Kronburger, projects the wider political context onto something smaller, in this case a tenement house, almost making an analogy out of it to communicate the wider crisis. Although the report is on location at the site of the Wall's beginnings, the border in its barbed wire manifestation is only briefly focussed upon. Instead, the tenement building situated directly at the closing border and its absent or hidden inhabitants is the real news story. The transformation of a home into a border or, rather, a prison warrants such attention, but, with its bricks and mortar, it is also a much more emotive, inanimate object than the newly erected barbed wire. The reporter issues an emotional response. He admits to being oddly touched by the

appearance of the houses: 'Seltsam berührt, dass die Häuser in der Bernauer Strasse, die zum Osten gehören, kalt und abweisend wirken'. Describing the houses as cold and abrasive almost infers Berlin's houses are conspiring against the West, and suggests that the political thermostat has been turned down in the East with the closure of the border, indicating a further, very tangible differentiation of space. A tenement building accords the street space meaning; inhabitants suggest community and neighbourhood. The reporter's focus on the barbed wire being erected in the side streets that meet the border, rather than that erected immediately at the border, creates a much more meaningful picture of how a city space has been sliced up and disrupted. His immediate concerns are the 'human costs'[14] rather than the economic and political ramifications of this severed space.

Reports from the East feign concern for the 'human cost' of the border closure, even if the notion of closure is denied outright and the emerging Wall is either ignored or justified as a protective measure. An unnamed GDR reporter for Rundfunk der DDR in a radio feature similar in length to the SFB dispatch aired a day later on location from the Wall's construction site at the Brandenburg Gate does just this.[15] The reporter claims nothing has changed for those who come to the GDR with good intentions, completely ignoring the restrictions in place for East Berliners. He does not shy away from describing the police water cannons, snidely adding that they stand ready to give 'eine kühle Dusche' to anybody from the West who causes trouble and intends on provoking the East. What appears to be a harmless, throwaway remark is exceedingly aggressive. Reference to the cool shower being offered by the Eastern authorities' water cannons insinuates that the West's reaction is overheating. The tone of this report contrasts greatly with the raw shock apparent in the voices of Western reporters. While Western reporters have the ear of their listeners, who share their shock, the Eastern broadcasters' sneering attitude conceivably found little empathy with most of its audience. The reporter, then, mocks both the West and its citizens. After a semi-descriptive but also politically assertive opening monologue, there is a minor scene change, to the

[14] James McAdams, *Germany Divided: From the Wall to Reunification* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 7.
[15] Reportage vom Autobahnkontrollpunkt Drewitz, Rundfunk der DDR, 13 August 1961, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R015580373.

border control. Unlike his SFB colleague, this reporter makes use of other voices despite not having any more airtime.

The reporter chooses what he terms a 'klassische West-Berlinerin' as his interview partner at the checkpoint, having the gumption to ask her if that is what she is. In announcing her as a 'classic' West Berliner, it is as if he is speaking to all West Berliners as well as East Berliners. His interviewee's tone is cautious, almost suspicious, giving off the impression that she would rather pass through unnoticed, stating with exasperation and concern that she wishes simply to visit her mother in the East. The interview takes place very much on the move. The interviewee is distracted by border checks, giving the interviewer the opportunity to repeat and, significantly, reformulate the answers he receives. Her voice constantly disappears out of the microphone's range as she speaks to the border guard as well as the interviewer and gets lost below the din of car engines. In choosing to interview somebody whilst they pass through border control, the reporter communicates the message: it is business as usual – 'so wie an jedem anderen Tag'.

Other East Berlin reports also aim to prove that nothing has changed for West Berliners by interviewing them at various checkpoints. In a piece for the Rundfunk der DDR station Berliner Welle aired on 14 August 1961,[16] reporter Karin Rohn accosts a retired couple from West Berlin crossing the border on Wollankstraße between Wedding and Pankow. The reporter is demonstratively overjoyed to hear that the retired couple from Schöneberg are on their way to walk their dog in the East Berlin park, Schönholzer Heide and that it is 'selbstverständlich' that they will continue to do so. Rohn is able to use the short interview, which is not live, to counter Western propaganda when in response to her question 'Was sagen ihre Leute in ihrer Gegend zu diesen Maßnahmen' the retired woman from Schöneberg responds: 'Die lassen sich immer noch von RIAS aufputschen, nicht?' and explains she has spent enough time in East Berlin to detect media-propagated lies: 'Mir kann keiner was erzählen, auch wenn ich West-Berlinerin bin.' Rohn describes the border and customs officers as 'ordentlich, sachlich und freundlich' and speaks to another West Berliner who insists the border guards were as friendly as ever. Berliner Welle also airs

[16] Lilo Hübner, Karin Rohn, and Walter Schlicker and 'Umfragen und Meinungen von Westberlinern und DDR-Bürgern zu den Maßnahmen der Regierung der DDR zur Sicherung der Staatsgrenze', Rundfunk der DDR / Berliner Welle, 14 August 1961, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R015704148.

vox populi with citizens from 'das demokratische Berlin'[17] in a piece aired the evening of 13 August on the current affairs show *Die aktuelle Berliner Welle*.[18] Speaking to nearly a dozen East Berliners in a six-minute piece, reporter Horst Lübeck gets the same response again and again. All interviewees start their response with 'Ich begrüße die Maßnahmen' and most add the border should have been closed long ago and celebrate the fact that they can now live in peace. Voices interviewed on the other side of the barbed wire tell a different story. RIAS reporter Erich Nieswandt[19] speaks to a West Berliner who has just crossed from East Berlin to West Berlin the morning of 13 August who, with a shaky voice, describes the mood in East Berlin as 'sehr schlecht, katastrophal'.[20] The nameless interviewee claims to have seen tanks at Schöneweide and says the East Berliners are so frightened that they dare not speak the truth. The very fact that so many *vox populi* are being gathered at border crossings in the emerging Wall illustrates that what the East ubiquitously refer to as 'Maßnahmen' have changed the perception of space. A commentary issued away from the Wall from the Berliner Rundfunk studios in Adlershof at lunchtime on 13 August attempts to discredit Willy Brandt's assertion from earlier in the day that these 'Maßnahmen' are an assault on the rights of freedom of movement and freedom to choose a place of work.[21] Commentator Klaus Dieter Kröber references the many *vox populi* his colleagues have collected throughout the course of the morning, stating that upright GDR citizens are by no means perturbed by the appearance of barbed wire:

> Jeder ehrliche Bürger unseres Staates – das haben auch alle Gespräche in der heutigen Vormittagsstunden gezeigt – ist zutiefst einverstanden mit dem, was geschah.[22]

Reacting to Brandt's declaration that the border closure and barbed wire represent a 'Bankrotterklärung' for the GDR, Kröber agrees, specifying that the

---

[17] Ibid.
[18] Horst Lübeck and Hans Rothen, 'Umfrage zu den Maßnahmen der Regierung der DDR zur Sicherung der Staatsgrenze', Rundfunk der DDR / Berliner Welle, 13 August 1961, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R015689092.
[19] Erich Nieswandt was the first West Berlin radio reporter on air with news of the building of the Wall in the early hours of 13 August 1961. Nieswandt, who started at RIAS, moved to SFB and went on to become one of the most well-known radio voices of West Berlin, hosting SFB's *Echo am Morgen* and *Rund um die Berolina*.
[20] Erich Nieswandt, 'Interview mit einem Ost-Berlin-Besucher zur Stimmung jenseits der Grenze', RIAS, 13 August 1961, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ171196.
[21] Klaus Dieter Kröber, 'Neue Maßnahmen gegen Menschenhandel', Rundfunk der DDR / Berliner Rundfunk, 13 August 1961, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R015653707.
[22] Ibid.

measures represent bankruptcy for the West Berlin currency exchange offices, West German agents and, above all, for the human traffickers.

2.1.2 Other Broadcasting Sites: Reporting the News away from the Wall

Business as usual is anything but the impression created by a short RIAS feature from an underground station, aired late afternoon on Sunday 13 August.[23] The Western journalist Christof Schade also speaks to West Berliners, only they are more candid in expressing their concern about the closing of the border than the interviewee concerned only with reaching her mother unhampered in the piece analysed above. Paradoxically, the RIAS reporter's choice of broadcasting site – 'Voltastraße: letzter Bahnhof im Westsektor' issues a similar message to the Rundfunk der DDR piece, that West Berliners can still move about their territory unimpeded, using an amended transport map, a map which in East Berlin, eventually, shows no details of the West Berlin transport network.[24] Like the SFB feature from Bernauer Strasse, the reporter Christof Schade is fairly calm in his tone. He remains descriptive, suggesting it is too early for commentary or speculation. Unlike the East Berlin reporter in the piece from the Brandenburg Gate, who constantly interjects, almost putting the words into the mouth of his interviewee, this RIAS reporter holds back, allowing his interviewees to answer the questions. This gives his interviewees – and his listeners – the space to form their own opinions. He offers two apparently contrasting *vox populi*: the first is that of an upset mother, conveyed by the timbre of her voice, worried about her son who is visiting her parents in the East. The second is a male passenger who acts as a kind of proxy observer for the journalist. Although he refrains from declaring it outright, unlike the GDR reporter in the previous piece, this reporter also picks purportedly 'typical' (or rather, clichéd) voices for his report. Nevertheless, both interviewed contributors make it quite clear that the East German authorities are officially denying their citizens the space of the West. Both interviewees confirm that there is no checkpoint on the U-Bahn before the train enters the West, and that the trains do not stop at the East Berlin stations, but pass slowly through them where *VoPos* can be seen hiding behind pillars so as not to be seen. The reporter's inclusion of actuality from the U-Bahn tannoy,

[23] Christof Schade, 'Reportage vom U-Bahnhof Voltastraße', *Sondersendung des Zeitfunks*, RIAS, 13 August 1961, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X046303.
[24] See Figure 1.7 in chapter one.

however, very much confirms the existence of two zones: 'Letzter Bahnhof im Westsektor. Der Zug hält nicht im Ostsektor.'[25]

While this report illustrates how transport maps – as well as media maps – altered as a result of the city's splitting in two, another RIAS report from a refugee camp in the West Berlin suburb of Marienfelde highlights a territory in existence since the early fifties that – with the border closure – gains in spatial significance, as marked by the subject of the report: the West German Federal President's visit to the camp on 30 August 1961.[26] Again, living up to what Alexander Badenoch refers to as the 'temporal expectations of radio',[27] the report starts with the standard announcement of time. Yet here, the time given is exact: '11 Uhr 43', indicating the report is live and up to the minute, as news aims to be. If this is the case, it is a good demonstration of how extraordinary events disrupt even finely-tuned broadcasting schedules, and how – as Alexander Badenoch observes – if such schedules are disturbed, the listener's private space (structured by radio programmes) is encroached upon, revealing the audacious, almost discourteous and intrusive manner of news, or rather, news broadcasting.[28] The time marks President Lübke's arrival and the start of the feature's narrative, the moment the media and, presumably, the refugees have been waiting for. The President's arrival parallels that of those taking shelter in the camp, only they won't have arrived in a Mercedes like his, a sure symbol of the *Wirtschaftswunder*. Unlike Lübke, many of those who have arrived at the camp will not be leaving it as swiftly as Lübke, but will have to wait, in some cases for years, to obtain their residence permits for the West. This renders the camp in Marienfelde a particularly transitional space. The reporter ceases his commentary as the President is greeted by an unknown voice – possibly a local city borough mayor – and the feature adopts a documentary style. Upon being thanked for coming to the camp 'bei erster Gelegenheit', the President immediately identifies himself as an 'alter Berliner',[29]

[25] The stations in the East at which West Berlin underground trains did not stop were known as *Geisterbahnhöfe*.
[26] Klaus Jaecks, 'Bericht über den Besuch von Bundespräsident Heinrich Lübke im Notaufnahmelager Marienfelde', *Die Zeit im Funk*, RIAS, 30 August 1961, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ106731. The refugee centre in Marienfelde received East Germans fleeing West and those seeking repatriation from the former Soviet Union from 1953 until 1990.
[27] Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, 2008, p. 40.
[28] Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, 2008, p. 55.
[29] It is significant, in the light of the analysis of John F. Kennedy's visit to West Berlin in chapter three, that it was President Lübke who first declared his citizenship of the city into a RIAS microphone.

both an emotional and a political response, attempting to endear himself to the inhabitants of a city whose families have been torn apart. The presence of a head of state in a Berlin suburb is a further illustration of re-mapping shifting territories.[30] Finally, a brief exchange about an escapee who fled via the canal whilst being shot at not only allows for political condemnation of the *Volkspolizisten*, but is also another indication that the border is not merely the Wall.

In his book *Voices in Ruins* on West German post-war radio, Alexander Badenoch cites John Fiske's observation that 'news is "unruly" by nature'[31] and that a 'tame, coherent narrative' of the outside world is only ever partially achieved by broadcasters. This is particularly true of breaking news which disrupts the perfectly timed 'dailiness' of a radio schedule. The written account of a RIAS news journalist's experience the night news of the border closure broke sheds some light on how it suspended the media's routine as well as that of its audience. Hermann Meyn reminisces how, at RIAS Berlin, he was the only journalist on duty in the newsroom on the night from 12–13 August.[32] He recounts how he struggled to decipher a rather cryptic news agency wire that came from the Associated Press at one in the morning, referring only to 'Maßnahmen' (measures). Not until a DPA (Deutsche Presse Agentur) wire reports the sealing of the border at the Brandenburg Gate does the then 26-year-old journalist on a nightshift typically given to newcomers attempt to contact his superiors, including the US mission, which controlled RIAS. He describes the chaos as listeners called in to report that S-Bahn trains were not running, and how he tried but failed to reach RIAS senior editors. That these editors only got wind of the event once the lone journalist had managed to file a short dispatch for the 2am news reveals how unsuspecting the West were about what was going to happen. Finally, he recalls taking a taxi to the border upon finishing his shift, to go and see the developments with his own eyes. His lingering memory is not visual but aural: he remarks that it is the hammering

[30] The Federal President's presence holds only limited political sway, as the West German constitution does not afford its president any real power. As is the case today in reunified Germany, the President's role as head of state is primarily symbolic.
[31] Badenoch, *Voices in Ruins*, 2008, p. 37.
[32] Hermann Meyn, 'Allein auf weiten Fluren: Als Nachrichtenredakteur in der Nacht zum 13. August 1961', in *Radio-Reminiszenzen: Erinnerungen an RIAS Berlin*, ed. by Manfred Rexin (Berlin: VISTAS, 2002), pp. 104-06.

and tearing up of asphalt that rings in his ears when he thinks of 13 August 1961.

2.2 A Sound Wall: Studio am Stacheldraht

The 'Studio am Stacheldraht' broadcast from the western side of the barbed wire border within an exceptionally limited airspace. Limited, because the studio had no frequency and was not, strictly, a radio studio. Instead, it transmitted its messages via outdoor speakers to its immediate, very local listeners at the emerging Wall. While it hardly qualifies as a Berlin radio station, the 'Studio am Stacheldraht' was a radio reaction to the construction of the Wall. It is an example of another new, if temporary, barrier within the city, a sound wall comparable with the sound walls created by the practice of jamming radio stations, walls through which 'enemy' news ought not to get through. The 'radio' being produced at the Wall attracted a great deal of media attention from 'real' broadcasters. Today, these 'real' radio reports about the Studio am Stacheldraht are all that remain of the sound wall, so it is to a variety of mediated versions that I turn for analysis, hailing both from RIAS in West Berlin and Rundfunk der DDR in East Berlin. Significantly, the East Berlin piece is entirely studio-produced whereas the RIAS features were recorded entirely on location.

The first of these pieces was aired on the daily RIAS news programme, *Die Zeit im Funk*, on 16 October 1961, two months after the border closure.[33] Unusually, it is not made clear in the piece from which part of the Wall the report comes. It is likely that this information was imparted in the 'lead' spoken by the studio anchor. The implicit spatiality of radio theorist Scannell's notion of direction is demonstrated within the feature's first sentence: 'Männer der Volkspolizei, Männer der Nationalen Volkarmee'. This address is not intended for the radio listener; its 'direction' reveals its location: somewhere where the GDR police and army are on patrol, more than likely somewhere along the border. Both the 'direction' of the opening passage and the tinny sound quality indicate actuality (sound used to paint a picture or set a scene) rather than a link (the reporter's spoken text used to link actuality), which as it comes to an end is confirmed by the line: 'Sie hörten das Studio am Stacheldraht'. It is now fully apparent to the radio listener that we are listening to the West's Wall

[33] Erich Nieswandt, 'Bericht: Lautsprecherkrieg an der Mauer', RIAS, *Die Zeit im Funk*, 16. Oktober 1961, *Niemand hat die Absicht: Tondokumente zur Mauer*, (Munich: BMG, 2001).

broadcasts directed solely at the border guards. Certain broadcasting conventions have even been adopted by the producers of this audio address, despite the very specific, limited dissemination of their 'broadcast'. The use of the term 'studio' communicates they are professional, to be taken seriously, reflecting the power and significance of true broadcasting media at the height of the Cold War. Moreover, the closing line, 'You've been listening to the Studio at the Barbed Wire', is a practice lifted from radio programmes which, in this context, is almost ridiculous because unlike real radio, the border guards at whom the sound is directed can see where it is coming from, and what it is. The 'Studio am Stacheldraht' even deploys musical interludes, bridging gaps between reports for the sake of continuity and to assert its presence.

As the actuality switches to the reporter's link – made apparent by the improvement in sound quality and the proximity of voice to microphone – it becomes clear that we are still not being addressed directly. The reporter is speaking to the 'Sprecher des Studios am Stacheldraht', asking him about his job. Like most news reporters, the 'Sprecher' is not apportioned a real name; he is simply another voice within the feature. The so-called voice of the 'Sprecher' almost manifests itself into two voices: that which comes through its technological extension, the 'Lautsprecher' when he is 'broadcasting' to the border guards and that which speaks to a 'real' radio audience in the form of an interview via the RIAS microphone. This is a very vivid example of double articulation and mode of address, both important elements of broadcast talk, a notion explored in greater detail in chapter four.[34] Although the address via the loudspeakers is a RIAS broadcast of something many Berliners would not otherwise hear, the latter is almost more interesting on account of its 'behind the scenes' nature. The Barbed Wire Studio 'speaker' or presenter reveals to the West Berlin reporter that the East rarely speaks or transmits anything in return at length, that a 'Rededuell' is infrequent, but that instead the East use music to drown out his broadcasts, a method not dissimilar to the concept of jamming.

About two-thirds into the feature, the RIAS reporter Erich Nieswandt addresses his audience directly, using the standard, German radio address 'Meine Damen und Herren' . He does so in order to let us in on a 'dramatische Zwischenfall' in which a *VoPo* aims his pistol at the 'Studio am Stacheldraht'

[34] See Chignell, *Radio Studies*, 2009, pp. 9-13.

and a grenade is thrown over the Wall. The sudden lack of corresponding actuality and sound ambience, together with the reporter's calm tone, suggests he is recounting the event rather than reporting live as it happens. His simulation of a live occurrence within his report warns of the variety of journalistic standards and practices among broadcasters. Again, the difference between the Wall 'radio' and standard radio is made clear by the reporter's description of the 'Stacheldraht' studio's listeners. Quite apart from the novelty of being able to see a 'radio' audience, the correspondent is eager to report that these are Eastern factory workers eavesdropping illicitly. The various audiences, voices, music and broadcasting technologies in this documentary-style feature create a media space in which radio listeners are made aware of one another on account of the double audience. Whether the listeners present within the piece are also absent – or rather co-present – listeners of the piece upon its transmission is a mystery characteristic of broadcasting.

The second radio piece, aired two months later by RIAS on 14 December 1961, is reported from a scene of heightened action.[35] It opens with a series of *vox populi* that are hardly audible for the din of music and speech emitted over the speaker systems on either side of the Wall. The voices are those of local West Berlin residents, whose apartments look onto the Wall. The atmosphere and tone are tense, and the interviewees, two elderly gentlemen whose age is betrayed by their voices, sound aggravated by the noise over which they are having to scream in order to be heard. They complain that the noise starts early in the morning and that it is driving them to distraction. The reporter Erich Nieswandt records his commentary from the same spot in order to convey the changed and escalating situation in which, as the reporter remarks, the East have armed themselves with better speakers and how police on both sides are carrying tear gas canisters. Nieswandt's second report, a very short update, differs from his first RIAS on-location report in that any similarities to 'real' controlled and edited radio broadcasting have vanished. The sheer chaos and noise of the situation clearly depicts what James McAdams refers to as 'the adversity of the wall',[36] and the sound wall, in this instance, reveals itself as an acoustic mirror of the real Wall.

---

[35] Erich Nieswandt, 'Bericht: Studio am Stacheldraht', RIAS, *Die Zeit im Funk*, 14. Dezember 1961, *Niemand hat die Absicht: Tondokumente zur Mauer*, (Munich: BMG, 2001).
[36] James McAdams, *Germany Divided: From the Wall to Reunification* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 9.

The third feature is a commentary produced by Rundfunk der DDR, spoken by Erich Selbmann and aired on 20 January 1962.[37] Without referring to it explicitly, its subject is the 'Studio am Stacheldraht' and the on-going use of sound at the site of the Wall. The commentary is none other than a warning, indeed a threat, to deploy speakers 'so laut, daß die Posaunen von Jericho sich wie Kindertrompeten ausnehmen würden'. Ironically, this threat to turn up the volume in order to make 'die Stimme der Wahrheit' heard is made in the name of peace. The threat is also issued from inside a real studio and thus heard, in all probability, through better speakers within a smaller listening environment (the home) than the 'Wall broadcasting' to which the radio commentator refers. Paddy Scannell views the studio as a public space, but one 'in which and from which institutional authority is maintained and displayed'.[38] The studio is a broadcasting site from which the broadcaster may speak on its own terms. It is literally impenetrable to outside noise, the ultimate sound wall. As Scannell remarks, it is the 'institutional discursive space' of radio.[39] It is somewhat paradoxical, then, that the editorial decision to issue this warning in commentary form, from the safe haven of a studio, without other voices, and so directly, almost imitates the confrontational style and address of the output produced by the enemy 'Studio am Stacheldraht' at the Wall.

2.3 Re-mapping Berlin after August 1961

Paddy Scannell observes how broadcasting causes the 'doubling of place',[40] in which an event occurs in two different places, both at the production site and the reception site. He also notes the phenomenon 'double articulation',[41] in which broadcast talk is spoken simultaneously to those present in the recording environment as well as the absent listener. In *Virtual Geography: Living with Global Media Events*,[42] McKenzie Wark uses the *fall* of the Berlin Wall as a case study upon which to test his theories about 'territory' and 'maps'. In this context, Wark observes not only how a news event (the fall of the Wall) takes place both in real terms on a territory as well as on a map of that territory provided by the media, but also how in the case of divided Berlin, this doubling,

[37] Erich Selbmann, 'Kommentar: Studio am Stacheldraht', Rundfunk der DDR, 20. Januar 1962, *Niemand hat die Absicht. Tondokumente zur Mauer*, (Munich: BMG, 2001).
[38] Scannell, *Broadcast Talk*, 1991, p. 2.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Scannell in Couldrey and McCarthy, *Mediaspace,* 2004, p. 21.
[41] Scannell, *Broadcast Talk*, 1991, p. 1.
[42] Wark, *Virtual Geography*, 1994.

doubles *again*. He counts four terrains or spaces, but warns of asymmetry, noting that the East's 'careful monumental marking out of the territory seems to have been in vain, given the ability of the Western map to waft into this same space […]'.[43] Wark's concept is equally fruitful for our consideration of the construction of the Wall, and how newly sealed territories were mapped, re-mapped and even de-mapped by the news media on both sides of border.

A fitting example of how the media re-mapped Berlin's newly defined territories after 1961 is a RIAS report filed from a helicopter over the city, on 30 August the same year.[44] It embodies a rather audacious editorial decision exhibiting a degree of showmanship from the reporter, Erich Nieswandt. Yet, it also demonstrates to the listeners that Berlin's airways have not been affected by the border closure, for they have ascended from the Western Allied airport, Tempelhof. It affords curious listeners a birds-eye 'view' of how the Wall is taking shape. Within the first few seconds of his report, Nieswandt declares the city map the pilot has with him as superfluous, stating one need only look down to see the border as previously marked only on the map, now very much etched into the territory. Seen this way, and considering Wark's definition of maps (media, telephone wires, transport systems, and most pertinently here, actual barriers) one might even go so far as to suggest the construction of the Wall itself is a form of re-mapping or re-marking a territory defined sixteen years earlier. Such an assertion also highlights how such maps influence, and how they both hinder and aid, inhabitants' navigation through a territory. Nieswandt's description of the death strip being carved along the Eastern side of the border renders the pilot's map obsolete rather than superfluous. He maps destruction rather than the Wall's construction, focusing on the ruthless demolition of allotments and the deployment of bulldozers to pull apart the modest summer dwellings of the city's, or rather cities', inhabitants. Finally, the reporter takes the opportunity to spy on what the East German *VoPos* are doing. By describing them without their shirts on, clearing leaves, he both mocks and undermines their authority and also draws upon an image that might have been true the previous summer: possibly the same *VoPos*, clearing leaves, but in their own gardens and on their own allotments, without shirts but also without uniform boots. The description also points to the more banal sides of the SED regime.

[43] Wark, *Virtual Geography*, 1994, p. 66.
[44] Erich Nieswandt, 'Hubschrauberflug entlang der Sektorengrenze', *Die Zeit im Funk*, RIAS, 30 August 1961, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ106731.

Just as much as the RIAS reporter's helicopter ride is an extravagant, bold statement to listeners on either side of the border, his final, speculative and provocative comment 'Ich konnte nicht erkennen, war es eine offene Hand, die uns zuwinkte, oder war es eine geballte Faust' is his very own, defiant gesture directed back to the border patrols below.

Of all the East German radio pieces considered here, Karl Eduard von Schnitzler's is the only one that doesn't attempt to deny entirely the ramifications of the border closure for East Berliners.[45] His commentary contrasts neatly with Nieswandt's helicopter report because it re-maps the severed city but does so from the convenient comfort of the studio. Von Schnitzler's infamous gift as a storyteller rings true, even here, on the evening of the eventful day of the border closure. There is no trace of shock or surprise in his voice at what has happened. His opening greeting is positively sadistic: 'Einen schönen Sonntag wünsche ich Ihnen, meine Hörerinnen und Hörer'. How could this have been a pleasant Sunday? He goes on to set up a 'normal' everyday scene, describing how excited West Berliners were told to keep the noise down by a border guard at 6 o' clock that morning as they headed to Müggelsee. He attempts to paint a picture of a friendly, peaceful border guard, who 'harkte derweil vor dem Wachhäuschen den Weg'. Von Schnitzler's use of the diminutive (Häuschen) is evocative of fairy tales. After setting up an unspectacular start to an ordinary Sunday, von Schnitzler addresses the day's significant events head on, deeming them 'unsensationell!' and claiming they are quite ordinary measures taken in accordance with the Warsaw Pact. He does not deny that the *Grenzgänger* were unable to cross the border to work today, but twists it as if all 60,000 of them had, overnight, come to their senses and stayed in the East of their own accord and plan to find work here, in the GDR. He does not comment upon the convenient fact that it is a Sunday. Like other East German radio pieces, von Schnitzler emphasises the continued influx of West Berliners crossing the border unhindered. Yet unlike other reports, von Schnitzler remarks with cruel satisfaction the East Berliners with 'bedepperten Mienen' and suitcases at Friedrichstraße station, unexpectedly on their way back to the empty flats they thought they were leaving behind for good. His addendum 'Pech, sowas' is uttered in a flippant tone that resonates

[45] Karl Eduard von Schnitzler, 'Erster Rundfunkkommentar zu den Sperrmaßnahmen', Rundfunk der DDR, 13 August 1961, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R015615093.

like a slap in the face. Von Schnitzler appears to revel in making it quite clear that those traitors wishing to defect to the West and those who do so temporarily, the *Grenzgänger*, are no longer in possession of the same map as their West Berlin counterparts.

Conclusion

As the examples cited in this chapter illustrate, radio news reports provided Berliners on both sides of the emerging Wall with quickly sketched-out maps of the territory transitioning around them. In sealing the border, the GDR authorities were able to alter and invalidate the city's public transport maps, road maps, neighbourhoods and telephone wire networks. They were not, however, able to prevent the media's cartographers from charting and issuing new maps of new spaces, available for all on a network of radio frequencies difficult to de-map – or jam. These maps 'drawn' by current affairs journalists are incomplete; they are scraps of maps, fragmented narratives typical of news. Under pressure to deliver dispatches to the newsroom for immediate broadcast, the news reporters can only partially survey the newly developing territory. Such news maps are, therefore, temporary and changing. But their effect must not be underestimated. They intrude upon daily routines and seep into, even re-map the private sphere, if only momentarily, bringing news of the spatial shifts within the city into the home.

As the following chapters demonstrate, divided Berlin's media maps, if ever changing, become more definite, and less sketchy, as the permanence of the Wall – and the various spaces it produces – becomes more apparent and accepted. The next chapter explores how journalists and radio reporters chart the territory of West Berlin in the form of a media event rather than as breaking news. This very different broadcasting format – which, unlike news, is highly planned and choreographed – produces media maps that are plotted with more definition.

Chapter 3

PRODUCING SPACE: KENNEDY, THE MEDIA EVENT

> The live broadcasting of history? Don't they know that history is process, not events? Certainly not ceremonial events! Don't they know that media events are hegemonic manipulations?
>
> — Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz[1]

The previous chapter explored a major news event, the building of the Berlin Wall. This chapter focuses entirely upon a media event: John F. Kennedy's visit to West Berlin on 26 June 1963. The differences between a news event and a media event are pronounced; where news frequently deals with conflict, media events often foster agreement. Although both are generally broadcast live, news is a reaction to new developments or unpredicted occurrences. Media events, on the other hand, are planned and highly choreographed. Examples include sports championships, presidential debates, coronations, Royal weddings and state funerals. John F. Kennedy's assassination just five months after his visit to West Berlin was a news event, his funeral a media event.[2]

Media events are often broadcast simultaneously by multiple networks and, interrupting the normal broadcast schedule, they draw mass audiences and break everybody's routines. These 'interruptions' are, on the whole, greatly publicized in advance and hotly anticipated. As a result, a media event occupies a vast amount of mediaspace, and in doing so it produces other new spaces. This case study explores the spaces both utilized and produced by John F. Kennedy's West Berlin visit, arguably the greatest media event in the history of the Allied-controlled city.[3] By contrast it is very much a non-event for East Berlin. This chapter analyses both the media and the non-media event, highlighting the indispensable role West Berlin's broadcasters played in producing a space that, by the end of the day, was very much America's Berlin,[4] as well as reviewing East Berlin's media reaction to this development.

---

[1] Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz, *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. vii.
[2] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 9.
[3] It is important to clarify that neither the construction in 1961 nor the fall of the Wall in 1989 are media events; they are news events.
[4] As historian Andreas Daum argues, the Airlift had already done this, but Kennedy's visit sealed the deal following the uncertain period after the erection of the Wall. See Andreas Daum, 'Ich bin ein Berliner', in *Sound des Jahrhunderts: Geräusche, Töne, Stimmen – 1889 bis heute*, ed. by Paul and Schock, 2013, pp. 442-445.

Andreas Daum's volume *Kennedy in Berlin: Politik, Kultur und Emotionen im Kalten Krieg*, the only recent study dedicated in its entirety to 26 June 1963 is based upon an array of historical sources, many of which are media documents. Daum considers in some detail both the media's role in and its coverage of Kennedy's visit to West Berlin, and its historical as well as political significance. However, he focuses solely on visual media, both print (photographic) and broadcast (television), declaring the occasion to be 'eine der frühen Sternstunden des deutschen Fernsehens'.[5] For Daum, Kennedy's visit is very much a visual, moreover a televisual event. He argues it was another occasion on which the world was urged to 'Schaut auf diese Stadt!'.[6] Here, Daum quotes Ernst Reuter's 1948 speech given in front of the ruins of the Reichstag building, in which Reuter asks the world to turn its eyes to divided Berlin during the airlift. Yet, regardless of how it is interpreted, the enduring message of the event – 'Ich bin ein Berliner' – was delivered orally. This suggests Kennedy's visit was more a case of 'Hört auf diese Stadt!', or at the very least 'Hört auf Kennedy!' and that the spatial impact was overwhelmingly acoustic. This alone warrants an evaluation of how Berlin's radio stations covered the event, but a further reason for focussing on radio is the prominence of RIAS as a media partner, as made plain by figure 3.1: the microphone into which the President is speaking is provided by radio broadcaster RIAS, not by the event's television broadcasters ARD and ZDF. This case study delves deeper into the significance of the radio broadcaster's media partnership in order to illustrate their part in what Lefevbre terms 'producing' space.[7]

To clarify, this chapter does not constitute an evaluation of his visit as a purely historical or political event, nor is it a straightforward study of the various media coverage of this very historic and political occasion. Instead it probes the spatial impact of a media event. In order to elaborate upon these narrow distinctions, it is useful to consult in some detail the definitions developed by Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz in their 1992 seminal volume, *Media Events: The*

[5] Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin*, 2003, p. 105.
[6] Daum has since adjusted his view on the visual importance of Kennedy's visit in a recent article. He argues that 'Kennedys Ansprache elektrisierte die Zuhörer und wurde zu einem akustischen Höhepunkt der Epoche' and recognises that RIAS played a role in this, citing the microphone into which Kennedy speaks. The article does not, however, address RIAS' or any other radio station's part on the day, neither in the form of coverage or media partnership. See Daum, 'Ich bin ein Berliner', in *Sound des Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Paul and Schock, 2013, pp. 442-445.
[7] See discussion of Lefevbre in chapter one.

Live Broadcasting of History. They assert that 'media events upstage historians'[8] meaning that it is the mediated version we remember, not that written in the history books. Even for those too young to have witnessed it, the most vivid memory of Kennedy's visit to Berlin – his words 'Ich bin ein Berliner' – provides an apt example of this. Indeed, it has become virtually impossible to correct the historical inaccuracy propagated by subsequent media reproductions of the day's proceedings. The linguistic misinterpretation of 'Ich bin ein Berliner' as 'I am a doughnut' was, according to Andreas Daum, spread by *The New York Times* and *Newsweek*.[9] Among other historians, both Daum and Jürgen Eichhoff[10] have attempted within an academic context to quash this myth. A re-listening of the RIAS footage of Kennedy's speech outside the Schöneberger Rathaus corroborates it is joy, not laughter, that emanates from the crowd as he speaks those words. Yet, on this not so moot point, historians remain in the shadows long since cast by the limelight-seeking media.

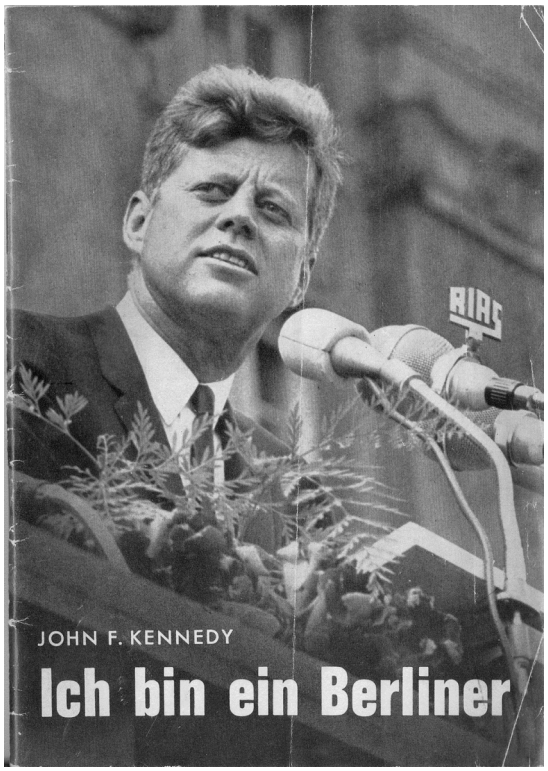


Figure 3.1: The cover of commemorative ephemera from the day. (Source: *Ich bin ein Berliner John F. Kennedy in der deutschen Hauptstadt am 26. Juni 1963*, Berlin Arani-Verlag, 1963)

[8] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 213.
[9] Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin*, 2003, p. 131.
[10] Jürgen Eichoff, 'Ich bin ein Berliner: a history and a linguistic clarification', *Monatshefte*, University of Wisconsin Press, Vol. 85, No. 1 (Spring 1993), 71–80.

To analyse what I propose is West Berlin's greatest media event and what is a non-event for East Berlin, this chapter first examines what Dayan and Katz consider an integral part of the format – the run-up to it – asking how the Kennedy visit was both eagerly anticipated and brushed aside by the press in the West and the East respectively. Primary sources consulted for consideration of public anticipation of the event / non-event include a West German *TV-Courier* article from early June 1963 and a radio commentary aired on the GDR station, Deutschlandsender, the night before Kennedy was due in the West of the city. Second, the actual media event is examined, using what remains of it – the seven hours of taped RIAS and SFB live footage. Third, with reference to the dispassionate radio commentaries aired by the Eastern networks Deutschlandsender and Berliner Welle, this chapter asks to what extent East Berlin's muted media reaction acknowledges or rejects the event. The chapter concludes with an examination of the various spatial implications of my findings on the Kennedy media event / non-event.

Before embarking upon the analysis of the primary source material, a brief outline of Dayan and Katz's media event definition is necessary followed by a summary of the historical context.

3.1 Media Events: A Definition

Dayan and Katz, whose theories are based entirely on examples provided by the medium of television, define media events not as televised events, but as television events.[11] Regardless of medium, their differentiation makes clear the stake the media has in pre-planned, historical ceremonies. Three separate parties participate in a media event: the organizers (in this case, the Auswärtiges Amt, the West Berlin Senate, the Allied Occupying Forces and the White House), the media partners (here, RIAS, SFB and ZDF) and the audience (Berliners and beyond). Even the last group, the audience, are involved in the planning stages of the event; audience members contribute to the orchestrated anticipation of it, looking forward to and planning how they are going to watch – or listen.

[11] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 211. As one of the founding fathers of Israel's public television network, Elihu Katz is both a media practitioner and, as Emeritus Professor of Sociology and Communication, a theorist.

Media event reporting is, on the whole, uncritical as journalists – 'trapped in the rhetoric of reverential lubrication'[12] – hang up their press hats and become presenters, or 'priests'.[13] As the epigraph to this chapter implies, this last characteristic suggests that media events 'come from the heart of the establishment'[14] that broadcasters are in cahoots with the authorities and their coverage is 'consensual' rather than questioning.[15] Terming it 'TV with a halo'[16] Dayan and Katz argue that broadcasters become the *vox populi*, as 'organizers and broadcasters resonate together'.[17] Dayan and Katz highlight the potential power of media events, asserting that it reinforces the status of leaders, focuses public opinion and edits and re-edits collective memory.[18] They see media events as 'electronic monuments'[19] or as James Curran and Tamar Liebes argue in their book dedicated to the legacy of Elihu Katz, they are 'plot points for ongoing public narratives of civil society'[20] and they stir up a 'sense of togetherness' and 'quickening of hope'.[21] Curran and Liebes develop Dayan and Katz's theories by suggesting that the format serves the legitimization needs of society (but not necessarily of states).[22] Their assertion that the media event often reflects the subjunctive rather than indicative mood of society confirms the part audience expectations play in the tripartite contract of organiser, broadcaster and audience. Certainly, the audience's participation 'gives status to the living room',[23] an indication of the spatial implications of media events that this chapter explores. Returning to the epigraph to this chapter, Dayan and Katz's study ultimately defends media events, proposing that – in a democratic society – they are not 'hegemonic manipulations' because broadcasters have the option to refuse to participate.[24]

The challenges of live broadcasting cannot be overlooked when considering this format, especially at such an early stage in the history of television broadcasting. The Kennedy media event also proves a test for radio

[12] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 193.
[13] Ibid.
[14] James Curann and Tamar Liebes, eds., *Media, Ritual and Identity* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 6.
[15] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 193.
[16] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 4.
[17] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p.15.
[18] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events,* 1992, pp. 199, 201, 212.
[19] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events,* 1992, p. 210.
[20] Curran and Liebes, *Media, Ritual and Identity*, 1998, p. 28.
[21] Curran and Liebes, *Media, Ritual and Identity*, 1998, p. 4.
[22] Curran and Liebes, *Media, Ritual and Identity*, 1998, p. 27.
[23] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events,* 1992, p. 195.
[24] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. vii.

broadcasters, a test that – with limited modesty – the networks RIAS and SFB celebrate as a technological triumph. The effect of such unbounded showcasing upon the listener experience is explored further in analysis, aided in part by apparatus theory on loan from the field of Film Studies. Without exception, a media event is broadcast live, in real time. Of the media, only broadcasting – whether television or radio – can do this. By contrast, a cinematic film may be shot in real time, but it is never live. This does not mean that live broadcasting is any less scripted than a film, but it does mean there exists an element of unpredictability. Live broadcasting is closer to theatre or the Church in this vein, but its spatial implications are far greater because broadcasting offers access to a much wider, more disparate audience, particularly in the case of divided Berlin.

Although Andreas Daum considers the impact of live television broadcasting, he does not reflect upon the nature of live broadcasting, and more significantly, the live broadcasting of a ceremonial event. Nor does he examine the press coverage of Kennedy as a media event in Dayan and Katz's terms. Dayan and Katz focus entirely on television's role in media events and they do not explore their model in spatial terms to any significant extent. Chapter three aims to fill these gaps.

3.2 The Historical Context

Following Kennedy's assassination in November 1963, the square in front of Berlin's Schöneberger Rathaus was renamed Kennedy-Platz. Two years earlier, apprehensive of the barbed wire wall that was gradually becoming concrete, West Berliners were demonstrating in the very same square demanding to know why the Western Allies were not taking action against Walter Ulbricht. As David Clay Large notes in his study of the city Kennedy received a black umbrella from Berlin school children, symbolising the one Neville Chamberlain had carried after signing the Munich Agreement in 1938.[25] Although these very schoolchildren and their parents would finally be appeased by June 1963, it took some convincing and negotiating from various sides to get the US President to Berlin.

Kennedy's reaction to the sudden appearance of a Wall was to issue an evasive statement, declaring that 'violations of existing agreements will be the

[25] David Clay Large, *Berlin* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), p. 452.

subject of vigorous protest through appropriate channels'.[26] In private, as Clay Large details, Kennedy put it more bluntly: 'a wall is a hell of a lot better than a war'.[27] The Wall was a solution 'privately welcomed' by the President.[28] According to Clay Large, prior to the Wall going up, the US President had already considered that border-closure was Khrushchev's sensible solution to the *Fluchtwelle* haemorrhaging from East Berlin on a daily basis.[29]

In a half-measure meant to placate the West Berliners' 'desperate need for assurance',[30] Kennedy sent vice President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Berlin Airlift hero General Lucius Clay in late August 1961 to the city. Johnson was welcomed with a mixture of relief and enthusiasm by the West Berliners, but he did not visit the Wall. General Clay remained in Berlin. On 25 October 1961, instead of showing the West Berliners the US were there to keep the peace, Clay sent ten US tanks to Checkpoint Charlie when a group of American officials were stopped at the border and asked to show their passports. The Soviets sent their own tanks, and for 17 hours it seemed the world was on the brink of war. As Clay Large points out, Kennedy bypassed General Clay and negotiated with Khrushchev, which saw the Soviets withdraw their tanks from the border.[31]

By 1962 West Berliners were starting to leave for the Federal Republic.[32] In an attempt to lift the city's morale, Kennedy agreed to include West Berlin in his 1963 tour of Europe. Former CBS journalist Edward Murrow, recently appointed by Kennedy as director of the United States Information Agency (USIA) advised against stopping in Berlin. Murrow had visited Berlin in mid-August 1961, and according to Andreas Daum, Murrow felt that a presidential visit to boost the morale of West Berlin would undermine the USA's authority. The 'news poacher turned gamekeeper'[33] feared that it would signal to the Soviets that the US was nervous about the continued existence of West Berlin. Murrow's near involvement in foreign policy decisions reveals the influence the

[26] Clay Large, *Berlin*, 2000, p. 451.
[27] Clay Large, *Berlin*, 2000, p. 452.
[28] Clay Large, *Berlin*, 2000, p. 462.
[29] Clay Large, *Berlin*, 2000, p. 449.
[30] Clay Large, *Berlin*, 2000, p. 455.
[31] Clay Large, *Berlin,* 2000, p. 456.
[32] According to Clay Large, West Berliners were departing at a rate of 300 a day at this point in time.
[33] Nicholas J. Cull, 'The man who invented truth: the tenure of Edward R. Murrow as director of the United States Information Agency during the Kennedy Years', in *Across the Blocs: Cold War Cultural and Social History*, ed. by Rana Mitter and Patrick Major (London: Franc Cass, 2004), pp. 23-48 (p. 23).

media – or rather a propaganda agency – was potentially able to exert upon the organisers' part in planning a media event.

When, in June 1963, Kennedy finally set foot in West Berlin, he was the first Western Allied head of state to do so. Furthermore, it took Kennedy's presence in the occupied city to coax the West German Chancellor there for the first time since the Wall had been built. Such firsts presented the hosting organisers (the Auswärtiges Amt in Bonn, the West Berlin Senate and the Allied Commanders) as well as the visiting organisers (the White House) with a challenge; they had no protocol experience in the Allied-controlled, divided city, and a great deal of political wrangling went on over the planning of the event, not between East and West, but between Berlin, Bonn and Washington.[34] The symbolic potential of such a visit was potent. This is undoubtedly a contributing factor behind the political reasons as to why public anticipation of the President's visit was so great. What is immediately apparent from the Western media is that any neglect and dismay the West Berliners felt in front of the Schöneberger Rathaus two years earlier was forgotten, or, at the very least, was not broadcast.

3.3 Anticipating the Event

Dayan and Katz observe that in the run-up to an event, there is 'an active period of looking forward, abetted by the promotional activity of the broadcasters'.[35] They also observe that *during* a media event, broadcasters proudly showcase their latest technological feats. As a combination of the two, the following source is an example of such showcasing prior to the event, ensuring not only anticipation of Kennedy's visit but also of its broadcast coverage. Published in the West German *TV-Courier*[36] some three weeks before the President's scheduled visit, the article 'John F. Kennedy auf allen Kanälen' painstakingly details the minutiae of technical planning for the upcoming occasion. In some passages, it reads more like the minutes of a television production meeting rather than a promotional article for a weekly television guide. For today's reader, the near-obsession with the technical operations side of the coverage is perhaps perplexing:

[34] Daum examines the protocol of the event in detail in chapter two of his book. See Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin*, 2003, pp. 60-111.
[35] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 7.
[36] Uwe Kuckei, 'John F. Kennedy auf allen Kanälen', *TV-Courier*, 4 June 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/5640.

> Der WDR, der für die ARD die Übertragung durchführen wird, wird mindestens vier Übertragungswagen mit zusammen 15 Kameras einsetzen, ferner eine drahtlose Kamera in einem Hubschrauber […]. Es scheint festzustehen, daß über die Nachrichten-Sateliten Relay und Telstart II Teile der Ampexaufzeichnungen am Nachmittag des Sonntag in die USA übertragen werden.[37]

The element of wonder in these descriptions of satellites betrays just how exotic television still was in 1963. The publication in which this article appears is only in its third year of circulation. Magazines dedicated solely to television in these early years are novel and, unlike their modern equivalents that tend to detail television content, they celebrate the exciting potential of the medium. In sharing their enthusiasm about the production plans with the wider public, the *TV-Courier* appears, at least, to involve the event's potential audience in its planning stages. In this instance, a significant proportion of the eventual audience will not have been involved in this particular purported planning. Not only do I refer to GDR citizens who, although they would eventually have access to the live broadcast, won't have had easy access to such printed material from the West, I also refer to the international audience.

In acknowledging different broadcast audiences, it is important to distinguish between the broadcasters' various statuses at the event. The *TV-Courier* article lists RIAS and SFB as the media partners, adding ZDF for the television coverage. This does not mean that they are the only networks covering the event. The differentiation lies between media partners and the rest of the media. The former have a say in the ceremonial proceedings, the latter do not. Dayan and Katz assert that a media partner exerts a significant degree of influence on an event's proceedings because 'it deploys its own equipment and manpower to re-produce and re-state an event before an audience to whom the organizer does not have direct access'.[38] In a *media* event, it is the broadcaster that enables the event to be live, not the organiser; the broadcaster has the freedom 'to threaten non-cooperation or to say no',[39] in other words to switch off their microphones and cameras.

For the rest of the press, the media partners are often referred to as host broadcasters, and as is the case today, they provide the guest broadcasters

[37] Ibid.
[38] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 56.
[39] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 59.

with material. The former pour their 'clean feed', that is to say their pictures and audio coverage *without* commentary, into a pool into which the latter may dip for their own usage. The *TV-Courier* observation – 'sie "poolen" also' – suggests that such inter-network agreements regarding the sharing of material is, in the case of broadcasting, relatively new. By pooling their material, they are in effect undertaking the same pragmatic and commercial endeavour that news wire and photo agencies had been doing for decades. In this case, RIAS and SFB jointly provide radio material for the whole of Germany, both officially and unofficially. At the start of their live broadcast, a studio announcer lists all the West German radio stations that are broadcasting the joint coverage of the West Berlin stations:

> Angeschlossen sind der Bayerische Rundfunk, Radio Bremen, der Deutschlandfunk, der Hessische Rundfunk, der Norddeutsche Rundfunk, der Saarländische Rundfunk, der Süddeutsche Rundfunk, der Südwestfunk und der Westdeutsche Rundfunk.'[40]

Fifty minutes into the seven-hour broadcast, one of the field reporters completes the official list by pointedly announcing:

> Diese Reportage [ist] natürlich in erster Linie für alle deutschen Sender, und [wird] über den Sender RIAS auch weit in die sowjetisch besetzte Zone ausgestrahlt, um unsere Mitbürger dort drüben von diesem großen Tag in Berlin zu informieren.[41]

Not only do these announcements make clear the extent of their live coverage, plotting out the Federal Republic with the various radio station names, they also remind the other West German public broadcasters of RIAS and SFB's exalted position as the event's media partners. They make clear to the Federal Republic that this is about West Berlin. Similarly, it defies the SED regime in the East, announcing that GDR citizens can also participate as partners in this event. Both the announcer's roll call of West German radio stations and the reporter's appeal to the other side of the Wall reveal the host broadcasters as cartographers of media maps. These maps assert their power as broadcasters, but they also serve the plotting out of the USA's new map, West Berlin.

So, JFK *is* on all Western channels as the title of the *TV-Courier* article exclaims lending an air of excess that befits the size of the media undertaking,

[40] Willi Knecht, 'John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin', Part 1, RIAS / SFB, 26 June 1963, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ107145 100D.
[41] Ibid.

described here as ‘die größte Live-Sendung, die je gestartet wurde’ and ‘Ein Mammutunternehmen also, ein Freudenfest für Kameraleute, Techniker, Kommentatoren und natürlich auch für die Zuschauer’.[42] The mention of media personnel and television viewers in the same sentence further involves the public in the proceedings. Similarly, in his overt use of production vocabulary the writer of this piece, Uwe Kuckei, wishes to demonstrate his insider knowledge of the industry as well as the plans for the forthcoming event. It appears that everybody, including those media outlets not partnering with the organisers, wishes to be a part of the Kennedy visit. Simultaneously capitalising upon and contributing to the buzz of anticipation, Kuckei cites the most recent developments in the planning stages, and, almost in the tone of a news journalist – ‘wird nach dem augenblicklichen Stand der Dinge’ – he bestows a sense of immediacy to the preparations. The newsroom tone is not entirely out of place: extensive live broadcasting at such an early stage in television history is news in itself. But Kuckei’s ‘news’ reporting is not entirely objective. In the last paragraph, the article switches format from quasi news piece to opinion piece, in which he expresses the magazine’s wholehearted regret (‘unser aufrichtiges Bedauern’) that the only pooling to take place is during the Berlin leg of the President’s tour. He attempts to express understanding as to why the broadcasters partnering for the Frankfurt, Bonn and Cologne stretches of the event have opted not to pool their material:

> Welches sind die Gründe für diese Situation? Wie wir aus unterrichteten Kreisen in Bonn erfuhren, war aus rein technischen Erwägungen auf einer Programmkonferenz der Fernsehdirektoren der Rundfunkanstalten die Neigung zu einem Pool klein. Man wollte nicht das kleinste Risiko bei der Übertragung einer “solch immens wichtigen politischen Dokumentation” eingehen.[43]

He doubts the outside broadcasting experience of West Germany’s second public broadcaster, ZDF, by referring to them as ‘Mainzer’, the city where the broadcaster – established only a few months earlier – has its brand new Lerchenberg studios: ‘Ein Risiko sieht man darin, daß die technische Erfahrung der Mainzer in Außenübertragungen schwierigster Art noch zu jung sei.’ His commentary finishes with a question directed at all of those involved in the

[42] Uwe Kuckei, ‘John F. Kennedy auf allen Kanälen’, *TV-Courier*, 4 June 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/5640.
[43] Ibid.

event's planning: 'Wurden von den Beteiligten an den Besprechungen ernsthaft alle Möglichkeiten einer Verständigung für eine gemeinsame Berichterstattung ausgeschöpft?' Kuckei no longer wants to be a part of the planning. He distances himself from the media partners for whom such a politically and historically important occasion represents status and an opportunity to shine as broadcasters. Kuckei's frustration with the West German broadcasters' decision not to pool their material like RIAS and SFB shows West Berlin as a mediaspace that has established itself beyond its borders.

The enthusiastic prying into the arrangements for the Kennedy event, as displayed here by a television listings magazine writer, is but a mild example of the kind of negotiations taking place among the organising partners, which included squabbling between Adenauer and Brandt's offices over protocol issues such as who shakes hands with Kennedy first, who sits next to him in the car as well as the order of speeches.[44] Adenauer's role in welcoming a head of state to Allied-controlled Berlin should have been null and void, according to the city's 'Sonderstatus'. West Berlin was not a Bundesland within his jurisdiction. The planning stages of the event are less a reflection of Cold War politics and more that of West-West relations.

A radio commentary given by Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler on Deutschlandsender the night before Kennedy's arrival in Berlin also alludes to and exploits the tensions between West Berlin and Bonn. Von Schnitzler lists the members of the delegation that are to accompany the President. Without judgement he mentions Brandt and the 'drei ausländischen Stadtkommandanten', saving his criticism for Adenauer who, he insists, is 'völlig deplaziert'[45] even if it is his 'letzte Show'.[46] As the main primary source of this chapter – the RIAS/SFB tapes – reveal, an audible faction of West Berliners are as unwelcoming of the West German Chancellor as von Schnitzler, made evident by the jeers and boos heard as Adenauer takes to the stage in front of Schöneberger Rathaus.

The fervour with which Berlin wished to participate in the Kennedy event is clear from the previous source; this source reveals how such eagerness to get in on the act was not limited to the West. Von Schnitzler makes it quite clear

[44] See Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin*, 2003, pp. 86-102.
[45] Karl Eduard von Schnitzler, 'Zum Besuch von John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin', Rundfunk der DDR/Deutschlandsender, 25 June 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R016836492.
[46] Ibid.

that without the cooperation of the GDR who have allowed Air Force One to enter West Berlin via Soviet airspace, the President would not be in Berlin at all and the West's best-laid plans would go to waste.

Von Schnitzler, who will have been privy to the facsimile of RIAS and SFB's latest 'Produktionsablauf' acquired by his 'Chefredaktion' as the contents of files kept by the DRA affirm,[47] only mentions the GDR 'landmarks' along the route:

> Morgen wird Kennedy die Bundesrepublik verlassen. Der Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten wird den Luftraum der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik benutzen, und um 11.35 wird er gegenüber unseres Brandenburger Tors, um 12.05 in der Friedrichstraße an der Staatsgrenze der DDR stehen.[48]

Von Schnitzler's selective use of personal pronouns is particularly interesting here. He proudly speaks of 'our Brandenburg gate' but is less eager to lay claim to the Wall, avoiding even the use of definite article and describing it as 'a wall'. It serves as a neat illustration of von Schnitzler's ability to acknowledge inconvenient truths and twist them into a tale advantageous to the East. Von Schnitzler cannot deny that there is but one East German landmark on the President's official programme for the next day, but he makes the most of it: 'Am Platz vor dem Brandenburger Tor ist es eine Mauer, am Checkpoint Charlie ein schlichter weißer Strich, die Halt gebieten und die Grenze westlicher Macht am Beginn sozialistischer Staatshoheit kennzeichnen.' He cannot help compare 'Western dominance' on one side of the border with 'Socialist sovereignty' on the other, which in spatial terms purports that the West is ruled and the East is free.

By deliberately failing to mention to listeners which West Berlin locations and landmarks are on the President's programme, von Schnitzler avoids legitimizing both the very existence of West Berlin and Kennedy's presence there. They are details ostensibly irrelevant for the GDR citizen. Yet by detailing when and where the President will be looking East, von Schnitzler infers there is a need within the GDR for Kennedy to acknowledge East Berlin as its capital, something the Federal Republic did not do officially until 1972. To avoid

---

[47] 'Programmablauf: John F. Kennedy in Berlin', 19 June 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/5640.

[48] Karl Eduard von Schnitzler, 'Zum Besuch von John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin', Rundfunk der DDR/Deutschlandsender, 25 June 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R016836492.

appearing too eager to be associated with West Berlin's imminent media event, von Schnitzler engages in a little promotion of the GDR's very own forthcoming media event, pointing out that it has been in the East Berlin calendar much longer than the 26 June 1963: 'Wir erwarten am Wochenende bei uns Nikita Chruschtschow. Er kommt zum 70. Geburtstag unseres Staatsratsvorsitzenden und dieser Geburtstag liegt schon etwas länger fest als der Kennedy-Besuch.'[49] As Dayan and Katz contend, the only competition to a media event is another media event.[50] Von Schnitzler naturally denies any intention of one-upmanship: 'Es handelt sich also nicht um einen Gegenzug. Dennoch sind einige Vergleiche erlaubt und nützlich.'[51] Ultimately, he cannot resist boasting that Khrushchev's visit 'mit den Deutschen in der DDR' is his seventh in stark contrast to Kennedy.

3.4 The Event: RIAS and SFB's 'Live Broadcasting of History'

Some 1,500 journalists were accredited to cover Kennedy's seven-hour stopover in West Berlin. Live coverage, exclusively the domain of broadcast journalists, was not limited to the host broadcasters, but as the official partners of the event their involvement bore considerable influence upon the day's proceedings. [52] Together with the remaining ZDF/SFB television footage, the RIAS/SFB tapes of their live radio coverage is the most comprehensive extant historical document of Kennedy's visit; it almost constitutes the media event save for the lack of live participants and live audience.[53] Drawing upon these tapes, this section evaluates how RIAS and SFB functioned as official media partners on the day. Specifically it considers the broadcasters' repeated showcasing of their new live-broadcast technology, the limitations of this technology, how the reporters' use of microphone acoustically frames the broadcasting space, and the commentators' use of voice.

---

[49] Ibid.
[50] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p.90.
[51] Karl Eduard von Schnitzler, 'Zum Besuch von John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin', Rundfunk der DDR/Deutschlandsender, 25 June 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R016836492.
[52] Live coverage was the domain of broadcasting within the context of the time. Today, Twitter feeds can also be counted as live coverage, albeit coverage that works to different standards from broadcast journalism.
[53] The RIAS/SFB tapes are still stored in the same broadcasting house in which they were deposited on the evening of 26 June 1963. RIAS was disbanded in 1993 after German reunification, but its archives and many of its former employees remain at the RIAS-Funkhaus on Hans-Rosenthal-Platz where today it is home to Deutschlandradio Kultur, sister station to Deutschlandfunk and part of Germany's national public broadcasting network.

RIAS and SFB start their all-day, live 'Gemeinschaftssendung' at Tegel airport waiting for Air Force One to land at 9.40am. Half a dozen RIAS and SFB reporters supported by outside broadcasting units follow the President's every step and almost every word. Unlike the East Berlin coverage, of which there was little, RIAS and SFB make as limited use of the studio as possible. Like the Berliners, Berlin's radio reporters and producers are keen to be on the city's streets in among the crowds so as not to miss out on the action. Together with the rest of the accredited press, the radio reporters accompany Kennedy and his delegation to almost every single appointment he has during the short visit. From his speech to the unions at the Kongresshalle, to brief border stops at the Brandenburg Gate and Checkpoint Charlie, to Rathaus Schöneberg where the President speaks in front of the Berlin crowds, to the Freie Universität for another speech in front of its students and university staff before heading back to Tegel airport for departure. The route taken to reach each of these appointments in the Western half of the city is done so in convoy, and although it is not listed by the organisers as a programme point in the proceedings, this convoy forms a central and significant part of the President's visit, at least for the Berliners and the press. It allows a large proportion of West Berliners to get a glimpse of the President ride past somewhere within their walled-in city. The convoy shapes the day spatially in that it plots out and maps West Berlin with a US marker, which in the case of the radio coverage is an aural marker.

3.4.1 Technological Showcasing

Mentioned almost as often as the President's name is the means by which we – the radio listeners – are able to follow his car around the city. RIAS reporter Jürgen Graf's frequent and proud references to their 'fahrbares Studio' is rather strange to the modern ear. Commentators at today's media events rarely specify in any detail the apparatus and technology they are using to make the broadcast possible.[54] The excitable showcasing of their radio equipment indicates how much of a pioneering pilot project the Kennedy media event is in the history of live broadcasting. It also affects the listener's experience of 'being there' and how we remember the media version of the day. To elucidate this, I draw briefly upon apparatus theory, borrowed from film studies.

[54] Today, broadcast technology is generally only discussed on air if there is a new camera technique for measuring distance and accuracy in competitive sports.

Unlike a photograph, a newspaper article or a newsreel, live event broadcasting is continuous. The term *Direktübertragung* implies there is no editorial intervention between the live action of the ceremonial proceedings and the listener's living room or kitchen. Direct, uninterrupted reports left uncut and unadulterated suggest there is little room for shaping, repackaging and manipulation. Yet even live broadcasting is staged, and the momentous, historical occasion to which we are witness is a re-presentation of what is happening, the ideological ramifications of which are discussed below.

Apparatus theory proposes that technology helps wield ideological influence over the spectator or, in this case, the listener. Technological apparatus such as cameras, microphones, editing desks and even cinematic projectors or radio receivers help conceal the difference between reality and broadcast reality and 'provides the illusion of perspectival space.'[55] By keeping the cables, soundmen and duty editors out of the picture – be it an audio or visual picture – the audience's attention is directed towards what is being broadcast as opposed to the broadcast itself. Although the finessed masking of production is much more of a concern in the film industry, particularly in the production of fiction film with classic narratives, it exists in broadcasting despite an often more relaxed attitude to revealing who is behind the camera, who is issuing directions from the gallery and which junior researcher is responsible for a presenter posing a factually inaccurate interview question. Drawing upon these nominal notions of apparatus theory, we may argue that broadcasters not only produce their programmes and pieces, but they also produce their listeners and the spaces they inhabit as they tune in. More recent apparatus theory disputes the notion that the spectator is entirely manipulated and without agency, arguing that he or she is able to interpret what they see or hear. Yet as true as this may be, by interpreting the produced piece the listener or spectator still colludes with the producers. The listener/spectator is stitched into or 'interpolated' into the broadcaster's reality (*suture*), and is done so, crucially, by the producers.[56] Apparatus theory, therefore, draws attention to the question of representation. Dayan and Katz highlight how live broadcasting shifts the 'locus

[55] Susan Hayward, *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 25.
[56] The term producer differs in meaning in a broadcasting context from a film context. The role of a television or radio producer is more like that of the director in the film industry, as opposed to a film producer. This can vary from network to network.

of ceremony from the piazza and the stadium to the living room'.[57] They make an important distinction between cinema and television, that the latter can reconstitute a performance simultaneously, and that this simulation 'has reached a state of near-perfection'. This 'near-perfection' compensates the viewer or listener for not being present at the actual event. RIAS and SFB strive to make the event 'appear as the only important reality'[58] by, for example, insisting the listener returns after the organisers' scheduled lunch break. That this 'reality' is constructed by two radio stations illustrates the power of broadcasting during this era. Yet RIAS and SFB do not hide their part in the event too readily.

Rather than 'effacing all signs of their production',[59] the RIAS/SFB broadcast shines a light upon them, almost to the extent of obsession. Right at the very start of the live programme, almost for want of something better to do, the reporter on location at Tegel Airport patiently awaiting the President's arrival reports that all those involved are so well briefed about the day's protocol and proceedings that they know the plans off by heart. As if to deflect from his own excitement, he remarks upon the anticipation of the photographers, and the apprehension of the television producers among the crowd of journalists: 'Um uns herum Klicken der Fotografen; die aufgeregten Rufe der Kollegen vom Fernsehen; die sich untereinander verständigen.' He at once distances himself from the 'Kollegen vom Fernsehen' who on the day face a much larger challenge than radio broadcasters lucky to have many more years of experience in their medium to draw upon. By describing the communication among the television production team as 'aufgeregt', which can mean excited but also nervous or agitated, he draws attention to what might go wrong, an observation that reveals a degree of rivalry between the old and new media.

In a much more enthusiastic manner, his colleague Jürgen Graf, situated inside the mobile studio, also starts his reporting with showcasing. He lists the technology that has been installed at Tegel Airport and Rathaus Schöneberg over the past few weeks so as to enable the live broadcast now underway. In part, the commentator's reporting of his own technological triumphs lends a certain charm to their coverage, but his near obsession also disturbs the flow of

[57] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 211.
[58] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 103.
[59] Robert Lapsley and Michael Westlake, *Film Theory: An Introduction*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 161.

the event itself. It is as if the official media partners unwittingly allow their listeners more room for critical reception by proving to them that what they are listening to is a production, a construction. On the other hand, it is possible that the constant behind-the-scenes references have already established themselves as a convention of live broadcasting, accepted by listeners without question. Either way, in some instances the reporters also have to admit technological defeat. Not quite an hour into the event's proceedings, Graf is forced to focus upon the technology as the new equipment's limitations also become apparent:

> Ab und an gibt es schon mal eine Unterbrechung bei diesem interessanten technischen Experiment aus einem verhältnismäßig kleinen Automobil, original zu senden, mit einem eigenen Sender ausgerüstet, […] wir haben das ausprobiert und es gibt nur wenige Stellen in Berlin, wo es knackt.[60]

As way of excusing brief, isolated broadcast failures and variations in sound quality, he steers the listener's focus upon the pioneering technological endeavours his media organisation is undertaking. Nevertheless, these technological limitations have an impact on space; this is particularly true of the microphone that, like a camera, frames acoustic space, but is restricted by the length of its lead.

3.4.2 Microphone Positioning

Another unnamed reporter who identifies himself only via his location 'Sprechstelle Checkpoint Charlie' provides an example of technology inadvertently getting in the way of the broadcast, but not before the organising partners have done so. As the reporter attempts to get a closer look at Kennedy climbing the viewing platform to peer East at the checkpoint (see figure 3.2), a small altercation is heard in the background and the reporter remarks he has just been told by an American military policeman to move back. A couple of minutes later, we hear a second exchange take place at some proximity from the reporter's microphone. The reporter turns back to his microphone and immediately divulges to his listeners that now the same US officer is attempting to bring him to a better observatory position, but the reporter reveals that although the two event partners are cooperating again, technology is preventing

[60] Willi Knecht, 'John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin', Part 2, RIAS / SFB, 26 June 1963, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ107145 200D.

them from doing so, laughing that his cable is too short. Just before the reporter's exchanges with the American military policeman, he points out Peter Fechter's grave. It can only be a coincidence that the reporter was able to briefly show up the US military policeman not far from the spot where, the previous August, different American officers followed orders not to intervene and watched Fechter bleed to death at the border after he had been shot by GDR border guards attempting to escape.[61]

Figure 3.2: Kennedy on the podium in front of the Wall (Source: John F. Kennedy Library (NLJFK), Boston, MA, Columbia Point, Boston, MA 02125-3398. NLK. WHP. KN. KNC29210. ARC Id. 194 226. President's Trip to Europe. Robert Knudsen. Berlin Executive Office of the President, 26 June 1963)

Although the live broadcast is, bar a couple of musical interludes, continuous and linear, cracks appear from time to time which reveal evidence of restrictions imposed upon the broadcasting of the event, either by the organising partners or by the media partners themselves. These cracks also remind the listeners that they are not actually there. Just as camera positioning in film can implicate

[61] Peter Fechter was shot by East German border guards while trying to escape to the West over the Wall on Zimmerstraße on 17 August 1962. The border guards, West Berlin police officers and American military police at Checkpoint Charlie all stood by as Fechter bled to death where he had fallen on the Eastern side of the Wall. The American officers' inertia was attributed to fear of military conflict. East German border guards finally carried him away and shortly afterwards, Fechter was declared dead. See Clay Large, *Berlin,* 2000, pp. 452-453 and Lars-Broder Keil, Sven Felix Kellerhoff and Thomas Schmid, *Mord an der Mauer: Der Fall Peter Fechter* (Berlin: Quadriga, 2012).

the spectator as an effect of the text,[62] microphone positioning plays a part in the interpellation of the radio listener into the radio text. Like a cameraman who controls whether he renders his pictures in close-up or wide angled shots, the radio reporter can produce different spaces by varying where he or she holds the microphone. The microphone positioning in the RIAS/SFB live coverage tries its best to make the listener feel he or she is everywhere the President is. But on a couple of occasions, the broadcasters fail to maintain this illusion. The most striking example of this is the almost complete lack of interviews and *vox populi* throughout the entire seven-hour broadcast. Jürgen Graf mentions on various occasions that he has spoken to members of the delegation such as the President's sister, or General Clay who, he reports, claims he has never seen such crowds, or to Pierre Salinger, Kennedy's press secretary who, Graf reports, says he's never seen the President so 'beeindruckt'. Although these reports are, undoubtedly, welcomed by the listener, reported speech cannot make up for what in broadcasting is termed as 'actuality'. Whether the absence of other voices from the broadcast is a result of restrictions put in place by the event organisers or due to technological limitations is not clear. The very fact that towards the end of the broadcast, as Kennedy is on his way back to Tegel, a different reporter speaks live to euphoric Berliners at Jakob-Kaiser-Platz, suggests that the media partners were not granted direct, on-the-record interview access to the event's main players, or the answers were not as euphoric on tape as they were in reported speech. It is a very vivid, almost literal example of a media event adopting the subjunctive rather than indicative mood. RIAS and SFB even fail to get the reactions on tape from their 'ausländischen Kollegen' during the official lunch break at the press centre inside the Schöneberger Rathaus. This implies editorial restrictions. The hoped-for effect of these less than satisfactory second-hand opinions is undermined by the microphone positioning favouring the commentator rather than allowing for authentic voices to back up his superlative exclamations about the success of the day.

A less unusual example of altered microphone positioning is at the Brandenburg Gate, where contrary to almost every other stop along the way, Kennedy does not speak publicly. Once the reporter at 'Sprechstelle Brandenburger Tor' has counted the 21 steps the President has to climb in

[62] See Hayward, *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts*, 2006, p. 26.

order to look over the Wall for the very first time, he can only describe how the British general who has accompanied him onto the platform 'gibt einige Erklärungen zu dem Brandenburger Tor' and that Kennedy's facial expression is 'ernst und verschlossen'. The reporter is forced to fill in the gap left by the deliberate lack of microphones, and mask what is a private conversation in a very public situation. After exclaiming that the Brandenburg Gate is *the* 'Symbol der deutschen Spaltung', he resorts to recounting its history whilst listeners wait for Kennedy to resume his schedule. Andreas Daum describes this gap as 'offizielle Stille',[63] deployed by the organisers at the most sensitive moments, asserting that 'die Programmplaner haben es untersagt, Mikrofone aufzustellen'.[64] By contrast, microphone positioning that favours the listener comes to the fore after Kennedy has spoken at Rathaus Schöneberg. The commentator not only observes Brandt's expressed call for a 'feierliche Stille', but he remains away from the microphone as the *Freiheitsglocke* rings, allowing this part of the ceremony broadcasting space in the reverential manner proposed by Dayan and Katz's model. Not only is the peal of the *Freiheitsglocke* to celebrate Kennedy's presence in Berlin a reminder of the USA's role in the Berlin Airlift,[65] but – as their jingle since 1950 – it was also the established sound of Radio in the American Sector. RIAS editors were undoubtedly more than happy to let the *Freiheitsglocke* ring without commentary because for many radio listeners, it was the sound of RIAS' 'freie Stimme in der freien Welt' ringing out after the leader of that free world had just declared himself to be a Berliner. Here, the sound of RIAS is as prominent as its logo fixed to the front of the microphone into which Kennedy has just spoken, and momentarily the space produced for the radio listener is a Berlin that belongs to RIAS. That RIAS has chosen the *Freiheitsglocke* as its jingle reveals how the station perceives its role in the propaganda war against Communism. Bar these few moments of 'silence', a silence in which there is no radio commentary and the microphones simply transmit the ceremonial silence and bell ringing, the seven-hour broadcast is full of voices, be it the crowd's rapturous cacophony, the presenters' narration, one of few *vox populi* or the protagonist's addresses.

[63] Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin*, 2003, p. 177.
[64] Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin*, 2003, p. 118.
[65] The freedom bell was a gift from the USA presented to West Berlin by General Lucius D. Clay on 24 October 1950, a little more than a year since the end of the airlift. Based on the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, it was given as a symbol for freedom in the fight against Communism.

3.4.3 Voice

Unlike Dayan and Katz's media event television narrator, who is 'almost invisible in manner', the RIAS/SFB commentators are very visible, or rather, audible. In this case, he (for the voice is exclusively male) often discards his tone of admiration and respect and criticises the programme planners in a manner much more befitting of a free, unregulated press. Jürgen Graf's mild dissatisfaction with the conditions negotiated with the event organisers starts with the order in which the convoy follows Kennedy's car: 'Wir bedauern ein wenig, daß der Pressebus – auch wenn nur ein kleiner – vor uns fährt. Aber das Protokoll wollte es so.'[66] He doesn't fail to mention, however, that the US ambassador's car comes far behind their own vehicle, the 'fahrbare Studio'. His critical commentary is not saved solely for minor matters. Taking a journalistic stance, he questions the route the convoy is to take: 'Warum nimmt der Präsident diesen Weg? Warum zeigt man ihm nicht die etwas helleren freundlichen Gegenden, die ja Berlin in so großer Zahl aufzuweisen hat?' The narrator's voice takes on an obvious representational quality as it poses questions the West Berliners are feasibly asking themselves. It reveals an eagerness to please and impress the President. Graf offers his listeners a reason for the route, making clear the White House is accountable: 'Faktor Zeit. Es war eine ganz klare Erklärung aus dem Weißen Haus, daß nur von 9.45 bis 17.00 Uhr der Präsident in den Mauern des Freien Berlins weilen wird.' Here his criticism may be sharp, but his reference to the Wall is notably mild.

The commentators also address the listeners directly, and when they do, they betray their political and ideological allegiances, or rather those of the RIAS directorate, which although essentially run by West Berliners, is occupied entirely by Americans and under the auspices of the US Information Control Services, and from 1965, the state department's USIS. Bar a couple of further disgruntled asides that the 'Protokoll drängt ein bißchen' or that it is 'fast zu korrekt' Graf refrains from voicing his criticism about the way the event has been organised as we get further into the broadcast. It is possible that his producer has directed him to rein himself in somewhat. The same producer will conceivably have issued directions to Graf to speak directly to listeners in the East at opportune moments during the broadcast. He begins with a simple

[66] Willi Knecht, 'John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin', Part 1, RIAS / SFB, 26 June 1963, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ107145 100D.

greeting: 'Wir begrüßen unsere Hörer in Ost und West'.[67] As innocent as it appears, issuing greetings to listeners in the East is an act of defiance in the face of the GDR authorities. Sometimes he speaks directly to the SED authorities in the knowledge that they too will be listening in: 'Der Konvoy ist jetzt angekommen, direkt an einer Grenze, wo die Unfreiheit beginnt. Präsident Kennedy kann hier ein genaues Bild bekommen, von der Freiheit, die drüben gefordert wird.'[68]

Knowing that GDR officials as well as ordinary citizens will be eavesdropping on the broadcast, he cannot resist making a mockery of them: 'Die Grenze wird verteidigt – besonders heute – von einer verstärkten Gruppe von braununiformierten Wachposten, die ausgerüstet mit Maschinenpistolen sind, die ausgerüstet heute sogar mit Ferngläsern und Fotoapparaten sind.'[69] Sometimes the direct addresses express solidarity with the East Berliners, referring for instance to Rathaus Schöneberg as a 'Provisorium' thereby acknowledging Berlin's true town hall in Mitte. In other instances, the commentator addresses the East as if he is speaking on behalf of all listeners, broadcasters and politicians in the West:

> Ich glaube, wir sollten in diesem Augenblick ganz besonders unsere Ost-Berliner Mitbürger, die am Lautsprecher und sogar auch im Fernsehen diesen denkwürdigen Tag für Berlin miterleben. Wir wissen, daß Sie sich in der Vergangenheit mit uns verbunden gefühlt haben und auch am heutigen Tag.[70]

Equally, the commentator also addresses his fellow West Berliners as if he is speaking on behalf of the Allied occupying forces which, as a RIAS reporter, essentially he is:

> John F. Kennedy war heute zum ersten Mal an der Mauer. Er hat sie mit eigenen Augen gesehen. Und wir alle wissen, daß die Entscheidung, die er damals traf, vielleicht die schwerste Entscheidung in seiner kurzen Amtszeit war.[71]

Perhaps more accurately, the reporter presumes to be able to speak on behalf of the West Berliners, detracting from any lingering resentment or criticism that

[67] Willi Knecht, 'John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin', Part 1, RIAS / SFB, 26 June 1963, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ107145 100D.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.

may still exist among them. The reporter's use of 'we' establishes that RIAS (and, in this case, SFB) speaks as 'eine Stimme'. His comments serve what Dayan and Katz refer to as the 'restorative function'[72] of media events. Sure enough, the very audible cheering of the West Berlin crowd suggests that they have forgiven the President for not coming sooner, and for the Western Allies 'placid reaction',[73] but even the unavoidable broadcasting of the crowd's distinct euphoria represents an editorial decision, and in this media event, there is little space for critical voices. The remaining and most resounding voice of this broadcast, that of Kennedy, is considered in section 3.6 below within the context of space in media events.

3.5 East Berlin's Non-Event

In some instances, the three negotiating partners of a media event – organiser, broadcaster and audience – are unable to reach a consensus about how to produce it, often resulting in the cancellation of the broadcast. GDR coverage of the Kennedy event, of which there is very little in contrast with Western media output, could be classed as either a 'denied event' or a 'reluctant event'.[74] The former stipulates that whilst the broadcaster and audience endorse the event, the organiser does not. The classification 'reluctant event' describes a situation in which the willingness of each negotiating partner is unclear. Andreas Daum notes in the course of his research that the *Bundespresseamt*, the federal press and information office, refused to accredit any GDR journalists, so they had to resort to filming Kennedy from the other side of the Wall. This illustrates that there were no negotiations between the organisers and GDR media. Yet, the application of these categories on the Eastern side of the Wall does not work because, for a start, three negotiating partners do not exist. By its very definition, the GDR's state-broadcasting system places organiser and media into one category. Media events in the East form a two-party contract between state and audience. The willingness of the latter to participate is questionable, especially when radio and television receivers award them alternatives, alternatives that are officially prohibited.[75]

---

[72] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 20.
[73] Clay Large, *Berlin*, 2000, p. 452.
[74] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 20.
[75] Based on the Soviet model, radio in the GDR was centralised on 14 August 1952 with the founding of the *Staatliche Rundfunkkomitee* which, as an organ of the GDR *Ministerrat*, ensured that SED policies were adhered to by the media. See *Deutsche Fernsehgeschichte in West und Ost: Rechtliche Grundlagen* (Berlin: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2012)

Heide Riedel notes in her history of German radio that GDR radio stations had to tone down the brazen propaganda in order to prevent its citizens from tuning into the West.[76] What is extraordinary about the Kennedy event is that it was, by definition, a non-event in East Berlin – at least officially. The organisers and media partners of the Kennedy event were, of course, exclusively from the West. It was, after all, a West Berlin media event and so it follows that the media partners were West Berlin broadcasters. Some limited but crucial negotiations did take place; Moscow allowed Kennedy's plane to fly through GDR airspace. Only the third partner, the audience, was mixed, and the event's media partner capitalises upon this fact for propaganda purposes. GDR coverage of the West Berlin event ran the risk of legitimising Kennedy's presence in West Berlin, thus undermining the status of East Berlin. Ignoring it entirely was, however, not an option. Countermeasures had to be taken against the excitement created by the live broadcasting of Kennedy on the other side of the Wall. One of these was implemented almost immediately after Kennedy's visit: the East's very own media event Nikita Khrushchev's attendance at Walter Ulbricht's 70th birthday on 30 June (see figure 3.3). The other countermeasure taken was the broadcasting of stern, studio-based radio commentaries reacting to the President's visit.

http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/medien/deutsche-fernsehgeschichte-in-ost-und-west/143360/rechtliche-grundlagen-ddr, [accessed: 6 December 2013.]

[76] Heide Riedel, *Lieber Rundfunk*, 1999, pp. 286–89.

Neues Deutschland 4. 7. 1963

Pressearchiv

Kennedy, John F.

Zweierlei Reisegepäck aus Washington und Moskau

Das Programm Kennedys

● Absage an die friedliche Koexistenz: „Mit Kommunisten kann man nicht zusammenarbeiten." Vereinigung aller Kräfte der imperialistischen Länder unter Führung der USA-Monopole im Kampf gegen das sozialistische Lager, die jungen Nationalstaaten und die Arbeiter- und Friedensbewegung.

● Gefährliche Zugeständnisse an Bonner Ultras hinsichtlich des Zugangs zu Kernwaffen. Unterstützung der Revanchepolitik der Ultras. Händedruck mit verurteiltem Nazikriegsverbrecher Foertsch und unter Anklage stehendem Judenmörder Globke. Aufrechterhaltung der Okkupation und versuchte Annexion Westberlins.

● Noch größere wirtschaftliche Lasten für Westdeutschland als Preis für politische und militärische Zugeständnisse an Ultras: verstärkte Rüstung, verstärkter Neokolonialismus, Opferung von Hunderttausenden westdeutscher Bauern. Gleichschaltung der westdeutschen Gewerkschaften mit westdeutschem und amerikanischem Monopolkapital.

Das Programm Chruschtschows

● Bekräftigung der friedlichen Koexistenz. Vorschlag für Abkommen über Einstellung der Kernwaffenversuche in der Atmosphäre, im Kosmos und unter Wasser als neues weitgehendes Entgegenkommen gegenüber den Westmächten. Zugleich Abschluß Nichtangriffspakt NATO–Warschauer Vertrag.

● Vorschlag auf Beseitigung der Überreste des zweiten Weltkrieges zur Normalisierung der Beziehungen zwischen den Staaten Europas und der Welt. Abschluß eines deutschen Friedensvertrages und Normalisierung der Lage in Westberlin auf dessen Grundlage. Sowjetunion und sozialistische Staaten treue Freunde und Verbündete der DDR und stets an ihrer Seite.

● Durch deutsche Friedensregelung Verringerung der militärischen Ausgabenlast Westdeutschlands. Objektive Voraussetzungen für friedliche Entwicklung Westdeutschlands und Westberlins. Normalisierung und Entwicklung ihrer allseitigen Beziehungen mit den sozialistischen Ländern möglich.

Zeichnungen: Prof. Beier-Red

Figure 3.3: Media event versus media event (Source: 'Zweierlei Reisegepäck aus Washington und Moskau', *Neues Deutschland*, 4 July 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/5640)

On the evening of 27 June 1963, the GDR station Deutschlandsender granted airtime to Gerhard Eisler.[77] Of all the voices that could have spoken, Eisler's represented *the* authoritarian voice of the GDR state-broadcasters as chairman of the Staatlichen Rundfunk-Kommittee der DDR. In a manner typical of the formal broadcast style of the time, Eisler greets his listeners with 'Meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren' as if he were speaking at an official event rather than on the radio. To contemporary ears, such a tone seems far from the intimacy that is now standard between radio speaker and listener. Yet even for the time, it was somewhat overly formal: the West Berlin stations also address their speakers as if starting a letter or a speech, but they opt for the more familiar greeting, 'Liebe Zuhörer'. Perhaps it is for this reason that Eisler uses the formal address, so that in the potentially confusing terrain of the radio dial, it is clear that the East is speaking, for Eisler is addressing the West Berliners directly. He gets straight to the heart of the matter, announcing he wishes to speak about Kennedy's speech and about the reception the West Berliners

[77] Gerhard Eisler, 'Zum Besuch von John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin', Rundfunk der DDR / Deutschlandsender, 27 June 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R016836357.

gave the President. He immediately denounces the crowd's jubilation, equating it with 'die übelste Stunde der deutschen Geschichte',[78] National Socialism, and reminding them where that sort of mass euphoria previously led: 'Man hat ihnen zugejubelt. Man hat sie ins Grab gejubelt. Man hat sie ins Dunkel gejubelt. Und man glaubte, man hätte Grund zum jubeln.'[79]

Accusing the West of fascism was a standard propaganda tactic of the East, but this comparison is particularly powerful because of the media event organisers' anxiety about the 'Schatten des Nationalsozialismus' associated with mass crowds.[80] Following this reprimand and a dramatic two-second pause, Eisler moves swiftly to a reactionary analysis of Kennedy's speech. His tone is at once confrontational, and issues what could be considered a threat, predicting a gloomy future for the West: 'Also er [Kennedy] hat gesagt, man kann mit Kommunisten nicht verhandeln, [...] dann wird die Mauer noch größer. Dann sehe ich schwarz für Sie in West-Berlin und in West-Deutschland.'[81] He uses Kennedy's refusal to 'negotiate with communists' to the GDR's political advantage and depicts Kennedy as unreasonable and uninterested in pursuing peace. This is likely as much, if not more, for the benefit of GDR listeners as it is for Eisler's purported recipients of his address. His choice of verb in the following quotation – 'quatschen' – dismisses Kennedy as ridiculous, suggesting he does not understand what he is talking about. Also in using terms that are crass and offensive to a contemporary ear, he attempts to reveal the US President as a hypocrite by referring to US domestic and civil issues:

> Wenn er zum Beispiel sagt, 'Wir in Amerika haben niemals eine Mauer gebaut.' Was quatscht denn der Mann? Sie haben den Bürgerkrieg gebraucht. […] Unsere Mauer ist uns lieber als der Bürgerkrieg. […] Sie sollten doch die zwanzig Millionen Neger [sic.] fragen, die lachen, hämisch lachen, wenn sie hören, was der Kennedy in West-Berlin gequatscht hat.[82]

Towards the end, Eisler's address takes an about-face turn and closes in a much friendlier tone, one that better mirrors the appeals to East Berliners issued by RIAS and SFB during the live broadcast the previous day. He states the

[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin*, 2003, p. 18.
[81] Gerhard Eisler, 'Zum Besuch von John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin', Rundfunk der DDR / Deutschlandsender, 27 June 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R016836357.
[82] Ibid.

GDR can overlook their unbridled enthusiasm for Kennedy, and appeals directly to them to negotiate with the East, now that the President has refused to do so: 'Also, liebe Freunde in West-Berlin: Es ist nicht zu spät zu lernen, besser man schämt sich zur Zeit […]. Werden Sie wieder vernünftig. Bleiben Sie vernünftig. Verhandeln Sie mit uns.'[83] This appeal suggests that West Berlin is lacking in sense and constitutes the unreasonable part of the city.

Whether Eisler is exclusively addressing the West Berliners is unclear, as is the proof that any of them were listening. Save a few commentaries, the GDR did not award airtime to West Berlin's spectacle, and Eisler's commentary is the only existing audio material that remains at the DRA. As much as the state broadcasters in the East attempted, with their radio silence, to deem Kennedy's West Berlin visit as a non-event, they probably failed, and East Berliners may remember the event as well as those West Berliners who listened to the RIAS / SFB joint live broadcasting. The GDR's radio broadcasters were unable to counter this particular 'live broadcasting of history'.

3.6 The Spatial Implications of the 'Kennedy' Media Event

In terms of space, Dayan and Katz do not develop their paradigm beyond the observation that media events transplant public space, from churches, stadiums and streets into living rooms. This would suggest that media events affect nobody beyond the audience. They neglect to consider the spatial implications for the other two media partners: the organisers and the broadcasters. The concluding part of this chapter, therefore, considers what the Kennedy media event meant in spatial terms for all parties concerned, bringing together my findings from sections 3.3 – 3.5. A common element they all share is that the space created by the event is very public, although, because it is such a highly constructed and controlled space, it is not a public sphere in the Habermasian sense. To various extents, it is 'open for all to enter',[84] either in person or via mediated means, but it is very much mono-directional in that listeners receive rather than reciprocate.

The actual, physical space in which the President spends a great proportion of his time – the streets – is an entirely public space, except of

[83] Ibid.
[84] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 23.

course for East Berlin citizens. As Daum's meticulous examination of the event's planning phases reveals, 'die Planer [mußten] in der Stadt große Räume der Öffentlichkeit schaffen' and 'die Berliner Straßen bildeten den wichtigsten öffentlichen Raum'.[85] Although it was the square in front of Rathaus Schöneberg that was renamed after Kennedy following his assassination later that year, the President's procession through the city probably forms the most public part of his visit. The streets are significant because they are lined with crowds. As the President's car and motorcade reach the more inhabited streets of the city, the RIAS / SFB reporter, Jürgen Graf, announces the awaiting throng as if their presence in Berlin is as novel as that of the President: 'Jetzt werden wir zum ersten Mal die Berliner erleben. Das sind die ersten Berliner!'[86]

Graf's own excitement mirrors that of the crowd, their 'Jubel über Jubel'[87] plainly audible for the listeners at home. He describes how every inch of space is lined with enthusiastic spectators, hoping to get a glimpse of the President: 'Die Begeisterung kennt keine Grenzen. Die Begeisterung kennt keine Notlösungen. Alles, was an Raum zu schaffen ist, das muß geschaffen werden.'[88] He reports the use of ladders and kitchen stools along the roadside, balconies overfilling dangerously with spectators – 'übereinander gestapelt'[89] – and how the occasional rogue member of the crowd attempts to run alongside the President's car until they are stopped by his security personnel (see figure 3.4)

[85] Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin*, 2003, p. 103.
[86] Willi Knecht, 'John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin', Part 1, RIAS / SFB, 26 June 1963, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ107145 100D.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.

Figure 3.4: Excitable fans briefly disrupt the convoy's progress. (Source: *Ich bin ein Berliner John F. Kennedy in der deutschen Hauptstadt am 26. Juni 1963*, Berlin Arani-Verlag, 1963)

The street space has become an arena, but not exclusively so. The organisers also demonstratively lay claim to the street space. The President's motorcar procession could be seen as mapping out and taking possession of the space, space that is becoming and producing America's Berlin, disregarding the fact that West Berlin is also occupied by two other Allies. Equally, and for the purpose of their live broadcast, the RIAS / SFB production team appropriate the streets as their studio. Rather than announcing who they are, the various reporters positioned throughout the city identify themselves by declaring the location from where they are reporting: 'Sprechstelle Brandenburger Tor', 'Sprechstelle Checkpoint Charlie'. But the broadcasters not only use the streets as a studio, they also turn it into a radio receiver of massive proportions by lining the streets with speakers that transmit their own live broadcast. Every now and then the reporter's voice is heard through one of these speakers. Interestingly, and contrary to the principles behind apparatus theory this particular phenomenon actually fosters the illusion of presence rather than reminding the radio listener at home that they are absent from the proceedings. It is quite plausible that those Berliners who really were present, standing somewhere along the President's route or crammed into the throng at Rudolph-Wilders-Platz awaiting his speech, felt that they were missing out more than the

listeners at home. The listener at home goes where the President goes. The crowd member standing at Checkpoint Charlie whilst Kennedy stands at the Brandenburg Gate, knows he or she is not there where the action is currently taking place, as made clear by the broadcast over the street speakers. This strange paradox illustrates how the radio audience, as opposed to the crowd on location, is empowered by the technological advances that enable live broadcasting on this scale. If, as Coleman and Ross assert, the crowd is a 'surrogate embodiment'[90] of the public, and that 'the public has no ontological essence prior to mediated representation',[91] one could argue that without live broadcasting neither crowd – real or mediated – is present.

Although crowds are an integral part of a ceremony that can lend weight to the event's political significance, they have a flip side: they do not have a good historical reputation.[92] In Berlin, just 18 years after the end of the war, organisers and press commentators were quietly nervous of the mass gathering, of the associations that might be made by the international audience, as well as by Eisler in the commentary analysed in section 3.5. Raised eyebrows were exchanged for sighs of relief in the following day's Western press, however. A commentary in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, for instance, accepts that although the memories of Nazi rallies have not faded, for all the rapturous mass emotion of the crowds in Berlin, and the city is moving forwards, not backwards: 'Auch wer den Gefühlsausbrüchen der Massen noch so skeptisch gegenübersteht, kann künftig nicht mehr übersehen, was am 26. Juni 1963 in Berlin, der Geburtsstadt der deutsch-amerikanischen Freundschaft, nach dem Krieg geschehen ist.'[93]

While Kennedy gave several speeches on this day in Berlin, only one of them was truly a public speech. The speeches given in the Kongreßhalle (to workers' union representatives) and at the Freie Universität (to faculty and students) were broadcast live, but the public's representatives or 'surrogates' – the Berlin crowds – were absent from both. His speech in front of Rathaus Schöneberg was addressed directly to the crowds – both the crowd in Firstspace and the crowds elsewhere listening in on the radio. It is here that the proceedings do not go entirely to plan. Kennedy chooses, for the most part, to

[90] Stephen Coleman and Karen Ross, *The Media and the Public: 'Them' and 'Us' in Media Discourse* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), p. 10.
[91] Coleman and Ross, *Media and the Public*, 2010, p. 29.
[92] Coleman and Ross, *Media and the Public*, 2010, p. 10.
[93] 'Richtig Verstanden', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 27 June 1963.

speak freely, ignoring the carefully drafted text he has pulled out of his jacket pocket. Instead, Kennedy contradicts his policy of coexistence and bluntly condemns the Wall and Communism:

> While the Wall is the most obvious and vivid demonstration of the failures of the Communist system, for all the world to see, we take no satisfaction in it, for it is, as your mayor said, an offence not only against history, but an offence against humanity.[94]

For all a media event's protocol and planning timed perfectly to the second, an element of the unknown always remains. By giving a different speech from the one expected by the planners, Kennedy 'displaces intermediaries' and 'short-circuits diplomacy'[95] and appeals directly to the public – the Berliners and the press. But he doesn't stop there. Coleman and Ross' observation about public speeches is particularly applicable here. Using an American point of reference, they argue that when a U.S. President adopts the address 'my fellow Americans', he is striving for approval and consensus among his audience.[96] Kennedy does just this in Berlin; by exclaiming 'Ich bin ein Berliner' he talks to and appeals to 'his fellow Berliners', but very much on his terms. This is a clever appropriation of space; it is clear from now on that West Berliners will – without fail – enjoy the support and protection from their biggest Western ally. It is also a provocation towards the East; Kennedy does not distinguish between East and West Berlin and – with the help of broadcasting – welcomes all Berliners into his Secondspace.

As the RIAS / SFB tapes of the media event make evidently clear, the straight rhythmic intonation of the President's name – Kennedy – resounds as clearly and as constantly as the town hall's freedom bell. Both sounds are a response to the President's speech, one a planned response, the other spontaneous. A translator repeats the President's words in German after each passage and Kennedy's final sentence is, therefore, also repeated. For this reason, even Kennedy's final sentence peals like a bell or a chant. All three sounds resonate within the soundscape of the live radio broadcast which, having done its job properly and fulfilled its part of the media event tripartite contract, has captured the voice of the protagonist (Kennedy), the voice of the

[94] Willi Knecht, 'John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin', Part 3, RIAS / SFB, 26 June 1963, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ107145 300D.
[95] Dayan and Katz, *Media Events*, 1992, p. 202.
[96] Coleman and Ross, *The Media and the Public*, 2010, p. 18.

organisers (the freedom bell) and that of the crowd, as well as adding its own voice to the proceedings. This brings us to the next chapter which investigates the significance of voice in radio and how it interacts with space.

Conclusion

As this chapter illustrates, it is not simply Kennedy's presence in West Berlin that puts it on the map, but the media event. In contrast to the news reporters' quickly sketched maps of the shift in space brought about by the building of the Wall, John F. Kennedy's visit to West Berlin is a very definite and highly planned map and its cartographers are the media event partners. In terms of radio, the media event is a triumph; RIAS and SFB are able to show off their new technology and, because they can follow Kennedy's car, they are able to render his map aurally and live, as it happened. But Kennedy is only part of the event; RIAS and SFB transform West Berlin into radio space. Their reporters drop their real names for the day and instead refer to themselves using the location from which they are broadcasting. The city is also full of microphones belonging to RIAS. Furthermore, West Berlin is turned into a studio of sorts, the space of the broadcaster. At the same time, the speaker-lined streets through which the crowds can hear RIAS and SFB's live broadcasting transforms the city into a space in which radio is received. By regularly reaching out to radio listeners east of the Wall, the radio commentators ensure that East Berliners are as present as the crowds on the streets of West Berlin, and ensure that it is very much an event for East Berlin as much as it is for West Berlin. East Berlin radio's attempt to treat the day as a non-event is, for this reason, futile. When Kennedy's voice rings out over the city and its airwaves, Berliners East and West hear no distinction between East and West in the words 'Ich bin ein Berliner'.

Chapter 4

DISCURSIVE SPACE: THE VOICE OF FRIEDRICH LUFT

> Ich konnte Grenzen, wie sie sich langsam aufbauten und dann undurchdringlich wurden, sprechend überspringen.[1]
>
> — Friedrich Luft

A *Spiegel* article from October 1950 describes how every Sunday at midday it is nigh impossible to find a place to sit on one of the benches in Stadtpark Schöneberg, today Rudolph-Wilde-Park.[2] The park benches were situated directly below public radio speakers, erected temporarily to replace the ubiquitous household *Volksempfänger* destroyed during the war or confiscated by the Allies following Germany's defeat. During this immediate post-war period, Berliners gathered at these benches every week for fifteen minutes to listen to a voice that would go on to keep them company in homes and in cars for the next four decades. The voice belonged to the theatre critic and *feuilletonist* Friedrich Luft whose radio career spans the entire period during which Berlin was divided, making him an ideal research subject for this project. His Sunday show *Die Stimme der Kritik* ran first on DIAS and then on RIAS from February 1946 until November 1990. Luft's voice became synonymous with RIAS, the station whose famous jingle proclaimed to be 'eine freie Stimme in der freien Welt' and a station whose 'voice' outlived that of Luft by only three years.[3]

Die Stimme der Kritik was an arts slot in which Luft reviewed Berlin's theatre productions and film releases of the previous week. Over the course of 44 years he produced some 2,000 programmes, the majority of which are straight theatre reviews. But every now and then, Luft strayed from the arts and used *Die Stimme der Kritik* to comment upon current affairs and what effect they were having on his beloved Berlin.[4] Although his obituaries extol him as

---

[1] Friedrich Luft, 'Akzeptanz-Rede für den Ricarda-Huch-Preis', June 1978, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Sign. 136.
[2] 'Luft: Gleiche Stelle, gleiche Welle', *Der Spiegel*, 11 October 1950.
[3] Luft died in December 1990. RIAS broadcast for the last time in December 1993.
[4] Luft declares his love for his home city on air continuously; he speaks of home sickness when in Edinburgh or London, or revels in the peace and quiet of his city during the summer months when fellow Berliners are on holiday: 'Der Sommer ist ja eine so berlinische Jahreszeit. Die Stadt ist, finde ich, selten erträglicher, als jetzt. Und das liegt wohl vor allem daran, daß eben so wenige Berliner in Berlin übrig geblieben sind.' See Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 9 July 1972, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 477.

'Die Würze des Berliner Theaters',[5] 'Ein Weltbürger des Theaters'[6] and 'Deutschlands berühmtester Theaterkritiker'[7] it is his voice – his 'unvergeßliche Radiostimme' – that was remembered most upon his death. Numerous obituaries published in regional, national, tabloid and broadsheet newspapers refer to his 'tenorale, etwas heisere Stimme'[8] or describe it as 'rasch, heiter und spontan',[9] as 'eigenwillig und unüberhörbar',[10] a 'lässiges, präzises *Staccato*',[11] his tone of voice as 'entspannt und zugleich gespannt',[12] his accent 'ein helles Berlinisch'[13] his delivery 'ohne Punkt und Komma'.[14] They all mourn the loss of his voice above everything else: 'Eine Stimme, die fehlen wird.'[15] That the nature and sound of Luft's voice is officially remembered more than what he actually said is striking and illustrates why a consideration of voice is requisite for a study about radio and, as this chapter shall demonstrate, for a study about space.

RIAS was not the only radio station in Berlin that equated itself with a voice. Broadcasters to this day often refer to themselves as one voice, if not always as explicitly as RIAS' 'freie Stimme'. In his seminal study of radio, Andrew Crisell observes that 'the voice of the continuity announcer is an index […] of the whole network'.[16] He asserts that the announcer who says 'You are listening to Radio 4' indicates 'I am Radio 4'.[17] Remaining within the British broadcasting context, it is worth adding that voice alone can immediately identify a station and whether, for instance, you are tuned to BBC Radio 2 or Radio 3. Other sounds – as well as what is actually said – help identify stations such as music and jingles, but voice and speech play the central role, the latter

[5] Ulrike Buchmann, 'Die Würze des Berliner Theaters: Zum Tode des berühmten Kritikers Friedrich Luft', *Der Morgen*, 27 December 1990.
[6] Lorenz Tomerius, 'Berlin verlor einen Weltbürger des Theaters', *Welt am Sonntag*, 30 December 1990.
[7] Joachim Kaiser, 'Was Friedrich Luft uns war', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 27 December 1990.
[8] Hans-Jörg von Jena, 'Zum Tod von Friedrich Luft: Reporter wollte er sein, nicht Professor', *Das Volksblatt*, 28 December 1990.
[9] Joachim Kaiser, 'Was Friedrich Luft uns war', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 27 December 1990.
[10] Peter Schlwy, 'Ein Berliner Original, das Droschke statt Taxe fuhr', *Bild*, 27 December 1990.
[11] Joachim Kaiser, 'Was Friedrich Luft uns war', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 27 December 1990.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Günther Grack, 'Die Stimme der Kritik: Zum Tode von Friedrich Luft', *Tagesspiegel*, 28 December 1990. Luft's occasional use of Berlin dialect betrays his allegiences to the divided city and helps to foster a sense of home, that Luft belongs to Berlin and the Berliners, both East and West.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ulrike Buchmann, 'Die Würze des Berliner Theaters: Zum Tode des berühmten Kritikers Friedrich Luft', *Der Morgen*, 27 December 1990.
[16] Crisell, *Understanding Radio*,1986, p. 46.
[17] Ibid.

considered radio's 'primary code' by Crisell.[18] Other radio stations broadcasting from or to Berlin during this period that refer to themselves as voices include Stimme der DDR and Voice of America.[19] Here, as Crisell has pointed out with reference to VOA, the voice not only refers to the station (via the voice of the announcer), but to an entire nation. Suggesting a nation has only one voice reeks of an authoritarianism fitting for the period. RIAS' voice is referred to as 'eine Stimme' rather than 'die Stimme', an attempt to portray RIAS as one of several stations serving and representing democracy. Nevertheless, the voice is attributed to 'die freie Welt', signifying the bias towards a particular worldview.

As this chapter illustrates, the continuity announcer is but one type of radio voice. Friedrich Luft's broadcasting duties are quite different from those of a continuity announcer, and his radio voice contrasts correspondingly. He appeals to his listeners by addressing them directly as 'liebe Hörer' and by constantly asking them questions which, on account of the medium, are *de facto* rhetorical. By acknowledging his audience and speaking to them in a personable tone appropriate to the domestic setting in which his listeners receive him, Luft creates intimacy which, although a defining feature of radio, is not always attained successfully. How Luft does this is explored in more detail below, but it is worth highlighting here that these qualities attributed to Luft's radio voice are without a doubt a reason for the longevity of his show *Die Stimme der Kritik*. He gained a large, loyal listenership over four and a half decades, based not only upon his aptitude as a critic able to explain theatre to almost anybody, but also because he was able to gain the trust of listeners forced to navigate their way through propaganda from both sides.[20] Again, the extent to which Luft's voice was trusted is reflected in his obituaries. He is regularly referred to as 'souverän' and the *Berliner Morgenpost* from 28 December 1990 declares: 'Friedrich Luft hätte man sein Sparbuch und sein größtes Geheimnis anvertrauen können'.[21]

[18] Crisell, *Understanding Radio*, 1986, p. 58.
[19] Stimme der DDR replaced Deutschlandsender and Berliner Welle in 1971, and Voice of America was and is the official voice of the US federal government. During the Cold War, it was under the editorial control of the US Information Agency (USIS). Its main intended audience during this period was the Soviet Union.
[20] Little has been published on Friedrich Luft in any detail beyond newspaper and magazine articles. One exception is Petra Kohse's monograph: Petra Kohse, *Gleiche Stelle, gleiche Welle: Friedrich Luft und seine Zeit* (Berlin: Aufbau, 1998).
[21] 'Einen wie ihn wird es nicht wieder geben', *Berliner Morgenpost*, 28 December 1990.

Trust is what distinguishes Friedrich Luft from Karl Eduard von Schnitzler, whose often snide tone undermines and betrays his flair for spinning SED ideology and disqualifies him as a trustworthy voice. Unlike Luft, von Schnitzler styled himself from the beginning as a political man with a mission and his rhetorical finesse is worthy of attention but, because of his switch from radio to television, he is of limited interest to my own project.[22] Focussing solely on Luft in a divided city by no means runs the risk of adopting a Western bias. As Thomas Lindenberger argues in 'Divided, but not Disconnected: German Experiences of the Cold War', 'the media publics of the two German states were never neatly separated, but rather overlapped and influenced one another'.[23] Crucially, Lindenberger argues that the institutional symmetry of radio contrasts with the asymmetrical reality of consumption citing this phenomenon as an example of Christoph Kleßmann's descriptive term for the Cold War period as an 'asymetrische Verflechtung'.[24] It is this asymmetry and the interlocking of listeners across the border into the discursive space of *Die Stimme der Kritik* that allows, even demands, a chapter on Friedrich Luft. Furthermore, Luft warrants a chapter dedicated to his voice because of his own dedication to RIAS listeners. As a freelance columnist he wrote for a string of newspapers with little regard for their varying, often opposing editorial slants, but as a broadcast journalist he remained loyal to the 'gleiche Welle'. His voice accompanied Berliners divided by the Allies, by ideology and by the Wall from start to finish. He lived just long enough to voice his reaction to the reunification of Germany in November 1990, his grain of voice in this particular show betraying emotion and elation. At the very start, in 1946, he took it upon himself to help develop the voice of a new era, to rid the radio of Goebbels' echo and the National Socialist 'zerstörte Sprache, die aus fanatischen Phrasen und Sprechblasen bestand'.[25] He achieved this by insisting that he sit at the microphone instead of a professionally trained speaker. Luft's radio show, like many then and now, was scripted. He proudly recalls his first studio test again

[22] See chapters two, three and five for references to von Schnitzler's work. Also see Rieben, 'Burned Bridges', in *Stimme der Wahrheit*, ed. by Brinson and Dove, 2003, pp. 159-78.
[23] Thomas Lindenberger, 'Divided, but not disconnected', in *Divided, but not Disconnected*, ed. by Hochscherf, Laucht and Plowman, 2010), pp. 11-33 (p. 21).
[24] Thomas Lindenberger, 'Divided but not disconnected', in *Divided, but not Disconnected*, ed. by Hochscherf, Laucht and Plowman, 2010, pp. 11-33 (p. 24).
[25] Joachim Kaiser, 'Was Friedrich Luft uns war', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 27 December 1990.

and again on more than half a dozen different shows, and describes with delight the producers' horror upon hearing his 'radio voice' for the first time:

> Ich sprach zu schnell, sei viel zu hastig, wäre in meiner aufgeregten Diktion geradezu für das Mikrophon Gift. Ich solle mein Manuskript da lassen. Das sei ja ganz in Ordnung. Aber man werde es einem eingefuchsten Radiosprecher anvertrauen, der solle es lesen.[26]

Luft broke with a tradition that to this day is still practiced to varying degrees in German broadcasting.[27] He rejected the notion of having another voice read his words – 'das war mir wirklich zu dämlich'[28] – just as he refused to indulge his producers' desire that he undergo speech training, the result of which – his 'nach Atem ringende Stimme'[29] – imbued his written manuscripts with meaning that only the voice can achieve, a factor often ignored by voice theorists and producers alike. *Die Stimme der Kritik* would have been a completely different show had Luft's texts simply been read by somebody else.

The extent of Luft's contribution to German broadcasting history is very tangible at the Akademie der Künste archive which houses many rows of box files containing the scripts for *Die Stimme der Kritik* as well as for other radio programmes and features he produced for RIAS. The script archive for *Die Stimme der Kritik* is missing Luft's texts from 1946 to 1961, but the audio archive – which is also complete from 1961–1990 – has some tapes from the 1950s. The dearth of tape from his earlier years is less surprising than the complete lack of scripts prior to the building of the Berlin Wall. Tape was often recycled and although paper would also have been in short supply, it is odd that the scripts of this period are absent in their entirety. The tapes and scripts are almost identical, showing that Luft rarely strayed at all from his original drafts, and the analyses in this chapter are based upon both the audio and the written material kept at the archives.

---

[26] Luft, Friedrich, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 9 February 1986, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 486.

[27] Even today, German television and radio broadcasting networks prefer to use professional 'Sprecher' to speak the texts written by producers and reporters. In television, this process is known as 'Synchronisieren'. In radio, this split is often acknowledged by crediting both the writer of a text and its speaker, the daily *Pressespiegel* on Deutschlandfunk serving as a good example. This phenomenon is less common in news journalism where reporters read their own texts.

[28] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 9 February 1986, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 486.

[29] 'Luft: Gleiche Stelle, gleiche Welle', *Der Spiegel*, 11 October 1950.

Luft's radio presence during the era 1961–1989, an era which produced extraordinary radio spaces (see chapter one), is without parallel. In his fortieth anniversary show, he proudly boasts that *Die Stimme der Kritik* is 'das nachweislich älteste und am längsten kontinuierlich durchhaltenste wöchentliche Radio-Programm Europas'[30] and that even Alistair Cooke's 'Letter from America' for the BBC 'ist eben erst seit 38 Jahren im Geschäft'.[31] In contrast with the previous two chapters, Luft's radio voice is not one of the reporter in the field. The news pieces analysed in chapter two and the event commentary explored in chapter three present voices that, appropriate to their particular broadcasting roles, are more neutral, even those which are neither balanced nor impartial. The radio voices in these chapters react to events as they unfold, regardless of whether these are news events or planned, live media spectacles, and in these instances what they are saying is more important than the reporters' voices. Their presence is secondary to the events on which they are reporting. Luft's show did not have the immediacy of the news bulletin, but as a weekly slot it still enabled Luft to comment upon current affairs. As illustrated below, the spontaneity of his commentary varied according to which day of the week news happened. In his Sunday show from 13 August 1961, Luft reports on the barbed wire he has seen that very morning. Although in this instance Luft's voice and delivery was conceivably less important than what he was saying, how he spoke nevertheless carries weight, something that cannot be attributed in the same way to the reporters' voices of the previous chapters, regardless of their seniority and experience. The news reporters' voices are certainly credible, but unlike Luft the news comes before their personality. In some cases, the reporters are not even named. Luft, by contrast, is given room to reveal and develop his broadcast persona. His role as a critic demands a degree of personality and by the early sixties he was already a household name. Consequently, it was not only significant what he said about current affairs, but it was significant that he simply spoke, and because he spoke on a weekly rather than daily or hourly basis, his voice probably carried more weight as he chose what to speak about for his weekly fifteen minutes.

[30] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 9 February 1986, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 486.
[31] Ibid. Alistair Cooke's *Letter from America* outlived *Die Stimme der Kritik* by fourteen years. Cooke continued to broadcast it until shortly before his death in 2004. The BBC did not keep all the recordings; lost tapes of Cooke's broadcasts from the 1970s were recently found on a farm in Warwickshire.

Luft is lauded an institution by many of his obituary writers, and one laments 'Ein Stück Berlin ist nun nicht mehr'[32] suggesting his radio presence was something physical, that spatially, he was a palpable part of the city. Whether they tuned into him or not, the clockwork regularity with which Luft could be heard for so many years meant that most Berliners – East or West – knew who he was. What distinguishes him from all the other voices in this thesis is that Luft is the voice of continuity, and this continuity exhibits allegiance on the part of both Luft and his listeners. The style of *Die Stimme der Kritik* hardly changes over the course of almost half a century. By the mid-eighties, this continuity, Luft's familiar and reassuring voice is poles apart from the young 'alternative' voices demanding change on *Radio Glasnost* further along the FM dial (see chapter five).

Drawing upon his radio oeuvre, this chapter investigates in more detail the nature and appeal of Friedrich Luft and why his voice resonated for so long. It then explores the spatial significance of his voice neatly hinted at by his own words, 'gleiche Stelle, gleiche Welle' and demonstrated by his ability not only to infiltrate the domestic public sphere of both German states, but to be welcomed into it like an old friend. Finally, it assesses Friedrich Luft's constant presence and his take on certain political events and, bearing in mind his breadth of broadcasting experience, the contribution his mediated voice makes to our understanding of the era. Before addressing Friedrich Luft's voice and broadcasting legacy, further definition and exploration of the voice in radio is essential.

4.1 Radio Voice

Radio scholars tend not to refer to the voice *per se*, but to talk and speech. This is partly a consequence of the linguistic turn, philosophy's preference for language over voice, most evident in the work of Andrew Crisell whose approach to radio talk is heavily influenced by semiotics. Radio scholarship has since dismissed semiotics as an approach to the auditory, Paddy Scannell in particular outlining its shortcomings in his volume *Broadcast Talk*. He argues that '[Semiotics] ignores the expressive dimensions of communication, how things are said, […]. The preferred model of language […] rejects the study of actual utterance (*parole*) for the study of language as an abstract form of signs

[32] Joachim Kaiser, 'Was Friedrich Luft uns war', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 27 December 1990.

(*langue*)'.[33] Scholars from other fields researching the voice have also called for a move away from logocentricism. Adriana Cavavero, for instance, asserts that 'the voice is always different from all other voices'[34] and argues that this uniqueness has been overlooked as most schools of thought have sought to understand speech from the perspective of language rather than from the perspective of voice.[35] Mladen Dolar attributes the phonological bias to the limited vocabulary available to describe the voice adequately – 'the voice is precisely that which cannot be said'[36] – and, like Cavavero, suggests studying the voice 'and nothing more' to compensate for its neglect. Even Crisell's interest in semiology does not prevent him from recognising the importance of the vocal in radio: '[…] messages in radio consist primarily of speech, and speech consists not just of words, as writing does, but always and indissolubly of words expressed in voices.'[37] In order to develop a vocabulary with which to describe Luft's voice and the criteria with which to analyse its significance, it is worthwhile briefly considering the voice in isolation, divorced momentarily from language.

A voice can reveal a lot about the person to whom it belongs. On a physical level, Roland Barthes' term 'grain' is useful. By 'grain', Barthes is referring to 'the materiality of the body',[38] the 'body in the voice'[39] and it is a fairly accurate indicator of gender and age. Mladen Dolar lists three vocal properties which reveal more than simple physical facts about a speaker. These are accent, intonation and timbre. Accent can reveal its speaker's nationality and hint at social background. Intonation is a term often used to refer to technique and expression in musical performance. In a speaker, it might refer to the tone of voice (ironic, serious, desperate, disinterested, authoritative) or to cadences at the end of sentences or exclamations (indicating, for example, disappointment or surprise). As Dolar observes, intonation can be the deciding factor in expressing meaning. The same sentence can be said with or without

[33] Scannell, *Broadcast Talk*, 1991, pp. 10-11.
[34] Adriana Cavavero, 'Multiple Voices', in *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by Jonathan Sterne (London: Routlegde, 2012), pp. 520-32 (p. 522).
[35] Cavavero, 'Multiple Voices', in *Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by Sterne, 2012, pp. 520-532 (p. 526).
[36] Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2006), p. 15.
[37] Crisell, *Understanding Radio*, 1986, p. 6.
[38] Roland Barthes, 'The grain of the voice', in *Sound Studies,* ed. by Sterne, 2012, pp. 504-10 (p. 506).
[39] Barthes, 'Grain' in *Sound Studies,* ed. by Sterne, 2012, pp. 504-10 (p. 509).

irony, producing two completely different messages. Timbre is another term perfectly at home in the musical world. As Dolar observes, it refers to resonance, pitch, cadence, melody, modulation, colour and pronunciation – all features that are 'not linguistically relevant'[40] yet significant in terms of expression.

To sum up, grain, accent, intonation, timbre, tone, pitch, cadence, diction and pronunciation are all markers of meaning that are not linguistic. Like singers and actors, radio speakers may deliberately emphasise certain qualities of the voice to communicate a certain meaning and some achieve it more naturally than others. Radio is polyphonic. Its many voices serve different broadcasting purposes, as reflected by their many vocal styles and registers. From the newsreader and the reporter, to continuity announcer, to the presenter or host, the expert contributor, to the interviewer, the interviewee and the public or *vox populi*, each voice is recognisably different in tone. Yet vocal qualities alone do not make a newsreader or host, language still plays a significant role and Scannell's concept of 'broadcast talk' is useful because it favours neither voice nor language; in broad terms it encompasses both language and mode of address.

Broadcast talk differs from ordinary discourse in that it is 'wittingly public' and 'intentionally communicative'.[41] Its address is meant for many recipients who are disparate and unknown both to each other and the broadcaster. Broadcast talk also differs from everyday chat in that it is essentially a one-sided conversation. Near exceptions include radio phone-in shows and, to a lesser extent, interviews and studio panel discussions; yet the radio listener still is not able to reciprocate in the way he or she might do in a real-life, face-to-face conversation. As explored in chapter one, this was Brecht's main reservation about the medium in its early days.[42] Since then, broadcasters have developed what Scannell defines as 'double articulation' in order to rectify this ostensible deficit and, at least on the surface, realign the power relations between broadcaster and listener. An example of double articulation is a radio presenter who speaks to his or her interviewee *and* his or her radio audience at

[40] Dolar, *A Voice*, 2006, p. 22.
[41] Scannell, *Broadcast Talk*, 1991, p. 1.
[42] Brecht, 'Die Funktion des Rundfunks' (1932), in *Rundfunk und Fernsehen in Deutschland*, ed. by Diller, 1985, pp. 54-56.

the same time. The doubly articulated address has 'listenable properties'[43] that include the listener in the conversation. Double articulation is one ingredient radio presenters use to make up for both their bodily absence and that of the listener. Most styles of radio talk – including double articulation – aim to overcome this 'mutual absence'[44] by simulating co-presence,[45] which seeks to create a shared space in which the presenter and the listeners co-exist. Co-presence not only relies upon the radio host's ability to draw listeners into his or her discursive space via his or her mode of address, but it also rests on convincing the audience they share the same space at the same time. In live radio, this is a fairly straightforward task, achieved by the constant time-checks and updated news bulletins of breakfast programmes and repeated traffic reports during the evening drive-time shows. Even when radio is not live, presenters use the 'rhetoric of liveness'[46] to retain the sense of immediacy and intimacy brought about in a shared space that is also temporally shared.

Co-presence is an exceptionally spatial concept and for this reason it is explored in more detail below as part of this chapter's examination of how space and voice interact, specifically how Luft's voice affects Berlin's mediaspaces and vice versa. But first, following chapter one's review of space, consideration must be given to voice, using Friedrich Luft as an example.

4.2 Die Stimme der Kontinuität: The Voice of Friedrich Luft

The format of *Die Stimme der Kritik* does not lend itself to the double articulation Scannell argues is paramount to good radio communication. *Die Stimme der Kritik* is a scripted monologue delivered by Luft from the acoustically clean confines of the studio. Although it has not disappeared from today's airwaves, the studio-produced monologue is typical of early broadcasting and, for some time now, it has not been perceived as particularly conducive to appealing to listeners.[47] Despite the format, Friedrich Luft's style is exceptionally inclusive and there are many examples of double articulation to be found on the tapes at the Akademie der Künste archives.

[43] Scannell, *Broadcast Talk*, 1991, p. 1.
[44] Durham Peters, *Speaking into the Air*, 1999, p. 212.
[45] Scannell, *Broadcast Talk*, 1991, p.2.
[46] See Chignell, *Radio Studies*, 2009, pp. 87-91.
[47] Scannell refers to the lengthy monologue addresses of the BBC's Third Programme, stating they paid no thought to the listeners, rendering them entirely absent.

In his programme from 19 August 1962 the annual *Theaterpause* forces Luft to find topics beyond theatre and film. For the entire fifteen minutes, Luft sifts through his *Hörerpost,* apologising at the start of the show to his listeners in the GDR for not being able to respond to their letters in writing 'aus Vorsicht, um die Absender nicht vielleicht doch zu gefährden'.[48] What follows is, to all intents and purposes, a feedback show in which he fosters a dialogue within the format's monologue. Luft usually addresses his audience simply, as one: 'liebe Hörer'. On this occasion, Luft divides his listeners and speaks directly and almost exclusively to his audience in the GDR. But he doesn't exclude his Western listeners with his direct address. Instead, he adopts the plural personal pronoun, even if he positions himself in the West:

> Sagen wir Ihnen, liebe Hörer dort, sagen wir Ihnen das Richtige und sagen wir es so, dass wir miteinander in Verständigung bleiben, da man uns an Vereinigung und Verständigung nur immer hindern will. Ich kann Sie versichern, liebe Hörer, dass diese Frage uns nicht verlässt.[49]

Luft's double articulation not only speaks to 'both' audiences, but it takes on two voices. He speaks not only for himself, but also on behalf of his fellow West Berliners evident within the shift in voice:

> Denn man fragt sich automatisch, hast du auch alles getan, damit die dort ein Bild haben, wenn du hier sprechen darfst, auch ihnen hörbar – und genug getan? Tun wir alle genug, falls man in diesem Zusammenhang 'genug' tun kann?[50]

This is one of many examples of Luft's awareness that he is lucky for being on the Western side of the Wall. A year earlier, Luft – on his way back from the Edinburgh festival and London only a month since the appearance of barbed wire in Berlin – admits to having 'ein schlechtes Gewissen, dieser Stadt hier mit ihren verfluchten Stacheldrähten und ihrem schmerzenden Schicksal länger fernzubleiben als nötig'.[51] Luft's rather audacious adoption of a collective West Berlin voice in his quasi feedback programme could be seen as an attempt to relieve his bad conscience by suggesting that he is one of many, if not all, West Berliners who feel helpless towards their fellow Berliners across the border – or,

---

[48] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 19 August 1962, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 412.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 17 September 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 404.

as Luft puts it, 'Mitberliner im Osten.'[52] This guilty conscience is also expressed as sympathy:

> Sie dort tragen das Schicksal unseres ganzen Landes. Sie löffeln, stellvertretend für das Ganze, eine bittere Suppe aus, die wir alle zusammen uns eingebrockt haben. Sie sind die besseren Deutschen, weil immer die besseren sind, die um einer Sache Willen mehr und tiefer leiden müssen. Sie leiden mehr. Sie entbehren ziemlich alles, materiell und ideell.'[53]

But his political conscience – and supposedly that of his West Berliner listeners – is soothed by the first letter he chooses to read out:

> Einer aus Dresden schreibt mir, ich sollte im Grunde gar keine Rücksicht nehmen bei meinen Kunstgängen durch die Stadt auf die veränderte Hörerschaft im Osten.[54]

Luft promises his listener from Dresden that his future theatre and film reviews will simulate sitting next to him in the front row.[55] Luft speaks to his listeners in the GDR with a voice that while sometimes guilt-ridden is also reassuring ('darauf können Sie sich verlassen') and even concerned; in response to a fan from Rostock who informs him she records his show and distributes it among her friends, Luft warns them: 'Lieber Hörer dort, seien Sie bloß vorsichig!' and asks them whether listening to him is really worth the risk. That this question goes unanswered exemplifies the limits of reciprocity within Luft's monologue format, despite sharing the opinions and questions of his listeners in this particular programme. Luft also chooses to read out a letter from East Berlin which demands that he report from other cities, not just West Berlin. Luft's editorial decision to share this letter conveniently gives him the opportunity to drop into the 'conversation' that he will be heading to Edinburgh and London again over the next few weeks. Luft's choice of letters undoubtedly serves the way in which he wishes to come across to his listeners, but there is no doubting the sincerity of his voice when he utters:

[52] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 19 August 1962, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 412.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Luft also had radio show called *Wir gehen ins Theater* that aired monthly on RIAS.

> Wenn über Umwege und Schleichwege Briefe und Äußerungen von Ihnen dort zu uns kommen, so sollen Sie gewiß sein, daß wir jede Zeile mehrfach und jedes Mal mit Herzklopfen lesen.[56]

Demonstrating to his GDR listeners that he understands the risk they are undertaking not only in listening to him but in writing to him and highlighting these risks for his West Berlin audience, Luft's voice becomes 'die letzte Brücke einer direkten Verständigung',[57] a description he often attributes to the medium that carries his voice, the radio. He ends the programme with a sense of triumph about radio's ability to bypass the 'böse Schneidelinie zwischen Ihnen und uns' and reassures his listeners – and warns the eavesdropping Stasi – that because of the airwaves they can never be fully disconnected from one another: 'Trotz allem finden Ihre Stimmen zu uns, und die unseren zu Ihnen, zusammengehörig, friedlich, nachbarlich, brüderlich. Es soll so bleiben.' He acknowledges the unusual form of this show, calling it a 'Gespräch, keine Kritik' before signing off as usual with 'Wir sprechen uns wieder, in einer Woche. Wie immer – gleiche Zeit, gleiche Stelle, gleiche Welle. Ihr Friedrich Luft'[58] reuniting his listeners through the single address that speaks to them as one, unaffected by the physical and political divide.

A contrasting example of Luft's double articulation can be heard in a show aired on 12 January 1986. He reports on his previous evening's outing to the Deutsche Theater. As his dramatic opening makes clear – 'wenn ich heute einen etwas übermüdeten Eindruck machen sollte, es hat Gründe!' – last night's theatre visit counts as momentous. It marks one of very few occasions on which he ventured into 'die benachbarte Theaterlandschaft von Ost-Berlin'.[59] Luft ceased reviewing theatre productions in East Berlin well before the Wall went up. A production of Ernst Fischer's *Der große Verrat*, directed by Wolfgang Langhoff at the Deutsche Theater proved to be the last straw for Luft. He gave it a harsh review in the *Neue Zeitung*,[60] questioning whether arts criticism in East Berlin was possible any more:

---

[56] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 19 August 1962, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 412.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS.
[59] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 12 January 1986, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 485.
[60] See Kohse, *Gleiche Stelle, gleiche Welle*, 1998, pp. 117-19.

> Der Zeitpunkt ist gekommen, da zu bedenken ist, ob die Entstehung ernsthafter Theaterkritik in die immer monotoner werdenden Schaustellungen kommunistischer Selbstbefriedigung im Osten unserer Stadt überhaupt noch angängig ist.[61]

That he chooses, thirty-six years later in 1986, to return to the same theatre is poignant and he makes this clear to his audience. The change of space is matched by a shift in address. Splitting his listeners again into East and West, this time Luft speaks primarily to his West Berlin listeners, describing his border crossing at Friedrichstraße as 'gnädig und vergleichsweise schnell verlaufen' and sharing his first impressions after so many years, detailing 'die alten Wege' to the theatre in what was once Schumannstraße – 'oder wie sie heute wohl heißt, Max-Reinhardt-Straße' and remarking upon the dimly lit Eastern streets – 'die Straßen sind, verglichen mit denen in unserem Teil der Stadt, […] nur kümmerlich beleuchtet'.[62] He continues reporting primarily for the West Berliners as he describes the theatre's recent renovations as 'übrigens geschmackvoll', which is also a theatrical aside directed at his East Berlin listeners as a compliment. Speaking again to the West Berliners and re-locating himself briefly back in the West, he remarks: 'die Theater beginnen drüben meist eine Stunde früher als bei uns' and is unable to refrain from expressing his surprise at the price of the theatre's refreshments: 'Ich bezahlte für das Glas eine Mark und fünf Pfennige Ost.'[63] Most striking is Luft's realisation that his fellow theatre-goers are not only friendly but young and in abundance:

> [Ich] war, wie man so ist, finsterer Erfahrungen gewärtig. Ich irrte. Es waren lauter überaus freundliche junge Leute, die mich höflich ansprachen und fragten, ob ich ins Deutsche Theater ginge?[64]

Luft's surprise here highlights his estrangement from the theatre world within one half of his home city, but it also betrays his age; he is at this stage almost 77 years old. He expresses astonishment at the queues of people attempting to get a last minute ticket and markedly points out that he cannot recall such 'großes Gedränge' outside of theatres in West Berlin: '[Ich] erinnere mich ähnlich sehnsüchtigen Zuspruchs bei unseren Theatern auf dieser Seite der

[61] Kohse, *Gleiche Stelle, gleiche Welle,* 1998, p. 117.
[62] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 12 January 1986, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 485.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.

gleichen Stadt kaum.'[65] His doubly articulated report comes to an abrupt end when he surmises – much to his dismay – that the theatres in the East have also discovered the trend for overly long productions: 'Gesamtdeutsch (oder doch gesamtberlinerisch) scheint die Neigung zu wachsen, die armen Zuschauer mit überlangen Vorstellungen (wenn nicht zu peinigen, doch) überzubeanspruchen.'[66] Not only does he return to speaking to one audience here – the 'Gesamtberliner' – but this time he insists that, at least as far as theatre is concerned, West Berlin theatre-goers are suffering as much and for as long as East Berlin theatre-goers. This is a very literal example of how Luft unites his city through his humour-tinged arts criticism.

Save for these two shows, Luft very rarely splits his audience according to the ideological and political systems under which they were governed. It would appear that he does so when there is a spatial shift; in the first example voices are introduced from the East via listener mail, and in the second example Luft has been to an East Berlin theatre. This demonstrates how space affects voice, rather than the other way round. On the whole, when reporting about the familiar territory of West Berlin's theatres, he simply appeals to all his listeners as if face to face, treating them as individuals and inviting them to re-join the 'conversation' every week with his closing words 'wir sprechen uns wieder'. This discursive space not only transcends the East-West split, but it proves to be a radio space separate from Berlin's spaces even after the Wall falls, and – if only briefly – after reunification. In this discursive space, he and his listeners are often on one-to-one terms and this is evident in his obituaries which betray the sense of loss not only for Luft as a man, but also for the discussions his listeners shared with him and with others for so many decades. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, for instance, adopts Luft's favoured plural personal pronoun, asking 'Was Friedrich Luft uns war …' reflecting the intimacy Luft was able to create with his voice and the extent to which his listeners felt included in his 'discussions' which are inclusive in nature unlike the one-sided monologue commentaries more typical of East Berlin radio and referenced in chapters two and three.

Resounding for more than four decades, Luft's voice will have been attributed many meanings by his listeners over the years. Above all and as the

[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.

title indicates, the show's aim was to offer an independent and critical voice whether in matters of art or, less frequently, politics. Significantly, Luft's show went on air without any editorial intervention from RIAS mainly because he wrote his scripts less than three hours before he was due to go live on air:

> Sprechtext beginne ich Sonntags um jeweils 9 Uhr zu tippen. Fertig bin ich um 10.30. Ein Auto holt mich um 11 Uhr ab. Ich korrigiere. Bin um 11 Uhr 15 beim Sender. Um 11.45 bin ich auf Sendung.[67]

Working to this timetable, the programme's producers would have had little or no chance to edit, iron out uncomfortable slants or add politically pertinent angles to his scripts. The scripts kept in the files at the Akademie der Künste archives – which were acquired from RIAS when it closed – are all marked 'Unkorrigierte Kopie'. Listening to the tapes confirms that Luft spoke his scripts in their first draft form almost word for word, changing very little or absolutely nothing. He made no secret of the fact that he scribbled down his scripts just before arriving at the studio, indicating to his listeners that they were hearing his voice only, adding to the personal touch of his broadcast style.

His very first theatre review on the inaugural *Die Stimme der Kritik* show in 1946 is a précis of a production of Brecht's and Weil's *Dreigroschenoper* put on at the Hebbeltheater:

> Da mußte man erkennen, dass das nicht mehr klingt. Die Zeit ist anders, weiß der Himmel und wir sind verändert. Man kann das Theater nicht einfach an die Bruchstellen von 1933 wieder anlegen.[68]

Immediately he draws a line with the past; his is the voice of a new era. In September 1961, Luft draws parallels between 'Ulbricht's Wall' and the atrocities of the National Socialist era. Unlike the rhetoric of the SED at the time, which attributed responsibility for the Nazi past to the 'fascist' West and justified the Wall as protection against imperial forces, Luft states that all Germans – both East and West – must take responsibility for World War Two and the Holocaust: 'Man ist Deutscher. Und in unserem Lande war die Schande passiert. Jetzt passiert eine neue.'[69] Yet for all the comparisons he makes between the militarism of the present day and the past, he does not believe that

---

[67] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 8 February 1972, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/ Sign. 31.3242.
[68] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 7 February 1946, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 32.0316.
[69] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 17 September 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 404.

Germans can bear collective responsibility for the building of the Wall: 'Mitverantwortlich ist man für alles. Oder man wird dafür genommen, wenn gewiß auch kollektiv schuldig an diesem neuen deutschen Skandal gewiß nicht.'[70] Seven years later in 1968 when the GDR joins the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact nations in the invasion of Czechoslovakia to put an end to the short-lived Prague Spring, Luft reacts with utter shame. This time he speaks for all Germans, making no distinction between the actions of the FRG and the GDR:

> Da kommt man über die Widerwärtigkeit dieses Tatbestandes nicht so hinweg, daß man nun sagt: wir waren es nicht. Wir haben uns bei Gott nicht daran beteiligt! Es waren ja die anderen. Es waren ja die, die unter Ulbricht stehen und die voraussichtlich so ähnliche Uniformen tragen, wie die Reichswehr, die damals vor rund dreißig Jahren dort einfiel und dergleichen Ausflüchte helfen nicht. Wenn man schon in nationalen Kategorien denkt und empfindet (und was bleibt einem anderes übrig, wenn man nicht vorsätzlich und mit Ekel aus einem solchen Volke austritt; aber das kann man nicht!) – man kann sich [sic] nicht ganz frei davon sprechen und machen. Die Haftung für das neue Übel bleibt an uns allen haften.[71]

Despite his own somewhat nebulous wartime past and his age – he was 57 in 1968 – Luft, like so many of his contemporaries, ignored the wider repercussions of 1968 and its student movement, and his now established show carried on through turbulent times.[72] This was the result of RIAS's broadcasting schedule; *Die Stimme der Kritik* was aired live every Sunday at 11.45am and repeated the same evening. The ritualistic nature of broadcasting schedules converges here with the sacred connotations of speaking on a Sunday. If *Die Stimme der Kritik* offers an alternative to church, Luft's voice is imbued with a particular kind of authority. But in a city where one half is officially secular and the other half is fairly agnostic, it is plausible that any such authority was easily dismissed or at least questioned. The continuity of his voice and his

[70] Ibid.
[71] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 25 August 1968, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 408.
[72] In her biography, Petra Kohse admits that little is known about how Luft got through the war, and she questions his own version of events, that following a fight with Nazi party members as a student he was thrown out of university and served the war making documentaries in the army film unit.

broadcasting presence was also underscored by the weekly repetition of Luft's catchphrase – 'Gleiche Stelle, gleiche Welle' – which brings us to the spatial implications of his voice.

4.3 Gleiche Stelle, gleiche Welle: Luft's Discursive Space

This section explores how voice and space interact in radio with specific reference to Friedrich Luft and the mediaspace of divided Berlin. If, as Kaja Silverman suggests, 'every acoustic event is inseparable from the space within which it occurs'[73] we must ask not only how the voice affects space but also how space affects the voice. These are compelling questions because the divisions of the voice, in particular the 'disembodied voice' of radio mirror the division of the city. Such divisions imply absence: absence of body, the absence of East Berliners in West Berlin theatres as lamented by Luft, and the absence of friends and relatives who are on the other side of the Wall. In examining the correlation between voice and space, this section aims to demonstrate how radio attempts to compensate for the absence caused by these divisions.

Friedrich Luft's voice is – like all radio voices – an acousmatic voice, a voice whose source is hidden. The acousmatic voice is not only a useful concept for radio but also for divided Berlin and space. As disciples of Pythagoras, the Acousmatics listened to his teachings from behind a curtain. This curtain is a fitting image for both divides explored: the one between Berlin broadcasters and Berlin listeners and that between East and West. It is also helpful in distinguishing between voice theories developed for film studies and the few that serve radio research. Restricted to listening to Pythagoras from behind the curtain, the Acousmatics were spared 'the spectacle of presentation'.[74] This is not the case in film, even when an acousmatic voice – or voice-off – is used, highlighting the limits of voice and sound as explored in film theory for an approach for the radio voice. For instance, in his chapter on *suture* in his 1999 study *The Voice in Cinema* the film sound theorist Michel Chion asks: 'If we are talking about cutting voice from body, shouldn't this apply more to radio or telephone than the cinema?'[75] He suggests that radio voices are less about *suture* than cinematic voices, that they do not need to be re-stitched to

[73] Kaja Silverman, 'Body Talk', in *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1988), pp. 42-71 (p. 42).
[74] Dolar, *A Voice*, 2006, p. 61.
[75] Michel Chion, *The Voice in Cinema* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 125.

the body from which they emanate: 'radio posit[s] the voice as representative of the whole person.'[76] Mladen Dolar echoes Chion when he argues that the acousmatic property of the voice becomes 'trivial' upon the advent of radio.[77] The initial reactions of Walter Benjamin to the telephone – who in his 1933 feuilleton piece *Das Telephon* describes the disembodied voice as 'die unheimliche Gewalt'[78] – imply that this was not immediately the case, and that he found the severed voices disconcerting rather than trivial.[79]

Yet even beyond the early days of radio, broadcasters need to bridge the gap between the space from which the radio voice speaks and the space in which it is heard. Furthermore, broadcasters during the Cold War period were tasked with compensating for the other divide, the East-West divide that is less easily bridged. Dolar argues that the acousmatic voice is omnipotent; citing *The Wizard of Oz*, he observes that the wizard is only powerful whilst his person remains hidden.[80] The acousmatic voice is charismatic and this charisma is partly indebted to the mystery of being concealed. This raises questions about the power of Luft's voice and suggests that it is instilled with more weight and charisma because he speaks from behind two Pythagorean curtains. It might follow, then, that Luft loses his aura when the Iron Curtain falls in 1989, and that he becomes just another radio voice in a mediaspace that has suddenly lost its spatial significance now that its listeners are free to cross physically into the territory they could previously only reach via broadcasters. In her obituary of Luft for the *taz*, Petra Kohse bemoans that at the end of his life, Luft's theatre reviews became 'reflexionsloser, unkritischer und auch belangloser'. Although this might be the result of age, it also suggests a decline in Luft's relevance in Berlin without the Wall. Since this thesis covers the time in which both curtains exist, attention shall now be given to how Friedrich Luft created a discursive space in which both parties – the listener and the broadcaster – felt each other's presence despite very concrete obstacles.

---

[76] Ibid.
[77] Dolar, *A Voice*, 2006, p. 63.
[78] Walter Benjamin, 'Das Telefon', in *Berliner Kindheit um Neunzehnhundert: Fassung letzter Hand*, (Frankfurt a. Main: Suhrkamp, 2010), pp. 18-19 (p. 19).
[79] In the article 'Benjamin's Silence', Lutz Koepnick details that even in his brief career as a radio playwright, the only way Benjamin could articulate the industrial sounds of the city was to 'translate them into scripts of images to make them manageable', suggesting that Benjamin very much relied upon *suture* to understand sound. See Koepnick, 'Benjamin's Silence', in *Sound Matters*, ed. by Alter and Koepnick, 2004, pp. 117-29 (pp. 124-25).
[80] Dolar, *A Voice*, 2006, p. 62.

In his radio debut just eight months after the end of the war, Luft enters the ether in body and in voice. His opening words on the very first *Die Stimme der Kritik* are a description of his appearance as well as his background:

> Luft ist mein Name, Friedrich Luft. Ich bin 1,86 groß, dunkelblond, wiege 122 Pfund, habe Deutsch, Englisch, Geschichte und Kunst studiert, bin geboren im Jahre 1911, bin theaterbesessen und kinofreudig und beziehe die Lebensmittel der Stufe II. Zu allem trage ich neben dem letzten Anzug, den ich aus dem Krieg gerettet habe, eine Hornbrille auf der Nase. Wozu bin ich da? – Ich soll mich für Sie plagen.[81]

In divulging his meagre weight, his ration category, his age, height and the threadbare state of his suit, Luft not only gives his listeners an image of himself, backed by – in his view – more substantial facts such as education and interests, he also seeks to relate with them, to speak to them on the same level. He too has come out of the war a tired, thinner, hungry man and he too must make do with rationing. Luft not only strikes an equal tone with his audience, he makes his bodily presence felt, even though all the listener gets is his voice. Unfortunately, the only existing tape of this first programme is a re-recorded version that Luft made for a RIAS anniversary in the 1960s, so it is impossible to gauge how this rather gaunt body sounded; if early recordings[82] and the number of words rendered per minute are anything to go by, he probably sounded sprightly and out of breath.

From his first minute on air, Luft does his best to make up for the gap between his acousmatic voice and body. Like his broadcast talk which strives to be inclusive and cultivate what John Durham Peters calls 'we-ness',[83] Luft's account of his looks is an attempt to achieve co-presence, to create a space in which he meets his listeners. This discursive space is amiable and familiar. For instance, Luft professes to know what his listeners want: 'Guten Tag, liebe Hörer, bitte mit der Ruhe! Sie wollen, wie ich Sie kenne, nun sofort hören, wie es bei My Fair Lady war. […] Sollen Sie alles gleich erfahren! Aber erst mal: bitte mit der Ruhe!'[84] He teases his listeners when he suspects they think he

[81] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 7 February 1946, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 32.0316.
[82] The earliest recording of *Die Stimme der Kritik* available at the AdK archives is from September 1950.
[83] John Durham Peters, *Speaking into the Air*, 1999, p. 215.
[84] Luft, Friedrich, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 29 October 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 405.

has waxed tangentially for too long: 'Keine Sorge, ich berichte ja schon.'[85] and in his later years he proudly reports how he is recognised by GDR citizens the first time he takes a day trip to Brandenburg, not based on looks but on his voice. In a slightly more modest tone on his show that aired the Sunday after the Wall fell, Luft – noticeably moved by the events going on around him – describes a brief exchange with East Berliners who have crossed the border and how, again, he is recognised by his voice rather than his looks, adding: 'als wäre meine Stimme auch ein kleines Stück von ihnen.'[86] This evocative remark suggests that over the course of nearly half a century, Luft's voice has attached itself to the bodies of others and become a part of their mediated memories and their biographies. His presence is felt by his listeners, so much so that they have become an imagined community separate from their nation-states and ideological spheres, and are referred to as 'Luft-Hörer',[87] much to Luft's delight.

As mentioned in the previous section, another component of co-presence is 'liveness'. Sharing the same temporal space aids co-presence and knowing the presenter is actually speaking to you in the very moment you are listening, with all its unpredictability and apparent spontaneity, makes the contact more 'real' and less staged, even if – like Luft's show – it is scripted. Luft attributes his insistence on speaking live to trust: 'weil ich den Hörer nicht betrügen will'.[88] Yet *Die Stimme der Kritik* was aired twice a week, live at lunchtime and repeated in the evening. Although the two transmissions are only a matter of hours apart, the evening repeat feels less current than the live show; it has already begun to age. Crucially, because the listener is aware it is a repeat, they know that Friedrich Luft is not present in the studio, compromising the connection and sense of co-presence. The repeated show produces a completely different discursive space from the live version and the voice that airs is a different voice in so far that it is not a live voice. Nevertheless, Luft's listeners are dedicated and forgive him for not turning up in person for the evening repeat; on the only occasion that RIAS decide not to run the repeat programme, Luft is bombarded with letters and calls of complaint. He apologises profusely on air the following

[85] Luft, Friedrich, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 26 August 1962, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 412.
[86] Luft, Friedrich, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 12 November 1989, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 410.
[87] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 19 November 1989, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 410.
[88] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 8 February 1976, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/ Sign. 31.3242.

week and attempts to persuade his 'enttäuschten treuen Dauerhörer' why the only cut in over four decades was necessary:

> Ich kann ihren Unmut verstehen. Aber verstehen muss ich auch die Entscheidung, die schnelle Entscheidung der aktuellen Programmleitung, wenn die Stadt schon so fröhlich brodelt, wenn so eine schöne Wendung der Dinge eingetreten ist – daß sie dann die Repetition einer immerhin schon einmal ausgesandten Sendung dann doch zugunsten aktueller Berichterstattung unter den Sendetisch fallen ließ.[89]

Luft's listeners are evidently so loyal that even the fall of the Wall will not prevent them from tuning in. As Cold War divisions crumble in November 1989 and Berlin is experiencing another seismic shift spatially, Luft's imagined community – his 'Luft-Hörer' – cling on to the sanctuary of the space created by *Die Stimme der Kritik*, a space in which Luft's voice binds them together. This is another reason why Friedrich Luft is the voice of continuity; the sense of safety and belonging shared by Luft-Hörer ensures that they return to tune in every week.

The spatial implications of Luft's voice also encompass how space influences his voice. Because Luft always speaks from a studio, his voice essentially always sounds the same. Unlike a roving reporter, he does not have to contend with other voices, street sounds and actuality. The unvarying, neutral and clean space of the studio from where Luft speaks enables him to control his discursive space. The fact that it always has the same acoustic that listeners only ever expect to hear his voice during this time slot adds to the sense of his voice as a constant. Only when he reports on having ventured into unfamiliar territory is it possible to sense what impact space has on Luft's voice, and yet he still issues these reports from the same, familiar space of the studio.

One such example of how space affects Luft's voice is when he takes a daytrip to Rheinsberg in 1973, following the easing of travel restrictions agreed upon by Willy Brandt and Erich Honecker in the Basic Treaty. RIAS give Luft a separate, forty-minute radio feuilleton slot to report on this occasion, an altogether different and uncharted discursive space. Luft starts the piece by speaking directly to his West Berlin listeners, dividing his audience just as he does when he visits the Deutsche Theater in East Berlin for the first time in

[89] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 19 November 1989, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 410.

decades. This occasion is some thirteen years earlier, however, and the shock of finding himself in Brandenburg for the first time since the war is significantly more tangible. Here he makes no attempt to invite his East German listeners into his discursive space. Instead he makes fun of the preposterous measures he and his wife must take just to cross what he irreverently refers to as the 'inner-Märkischen' border:

> Und nun, oh Wunder der Politik der Entspannung! Nun werfen wir das Automobil an, um zum ersten Male wieder nach Rheinsberg auszufliegen […] durch die bislang so unerfreulich undurchlässige Mauer.[90]

He appears to pay no thought to those listeners for whom the Wall is still 'so unerfreulich undurchlässig' and continues for the next forty minutes to speak exclusively with his fellow West Berliners about 'dort drüben' as if his listeners in the East were not there. Unintentionally, it would seem, his lack of tact alienates one half of his dedicated listenership rendering them entirely absent from his discursive space, which is ironic considering he is reporting on 'their' Firstspace. He issues blunt and less than complimentary descriptions of the villages through which they drive: 'Wir passieren dabei ein recht unansehliches, eher häßliches kleines Dorf […] Es wird wieder etwas unpersönlicher und langweiliger. Der Eindruck von Grau in Grau'[91] and is condescending of what Rheinsberg has to offer these days in the way of culture:

> Im Kino gibt es einen so uralten westdeutschen Film, daß ich die Augen niederschlage, *Als wär's ein Stück von mir*. Die Armen, daß sie unser defektes Kino aus den 60er Jahren noch nachholen müssen und es offenbar gerne tun; man möchte hier den Kinogängern Besseres wünschen.[92]

His tone is at times superior when he draws unfavourable comparisons between West Berlin and the 'provinces', although his criticism is pitted against the regime more than his listeners:

> Ich sehe in den kleinen Bücherladen. Ach, das Lesbare ist ausgesucht und für unsere Begriffe dürftig. Literatur für, möchte man (ohne bitter

[90] Friedrich Luft, 'Wenn einer wieder reisen darf', *Kulturpolitik*, RIAS, 16 June 1973, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Sign. 87.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.

wirken zu wollen) sprechen, – Literatur für provinzielle und tugendhafte Leser. Wenn ich da an das Angebot unserer Buchgeschäfte denke![93]

Despite his condescending tone, Luft redeems himself when he describes an exchange with locals in which he has the opportunity to hear their take on current Western politics and politicians. He observes, almost with relief, that because they speak the same language they have not grown as far apart as he had feared:

> Nein, die Entfremdung ist bei weitem nicht so groß, ist weitaus nicht so radikal oder unüberwindlich, wie man hätte fürchten sollen oder müssen nach all diesen Jahren der totalen Trennung voneinander.[94]

This admission almost contradicts the public attitude he has adopted and propagated on *Die Stimme der Kritik* since 1961, that radio will bridge the gap between two German nations. By venturing into the GDR, an unknown Firstspace for Luft, his voice changes. The listeners are confronted with a voice that is unusually vulnerable; there is no trace of the ever-reassuring Luft of *Die Stimme der Kritik*. All of a sudden, the alternative radio space he has offered his GDR listeners for so many years seems inadequate. He despairs of the idea of 'Hier existieren – und sozusagen dort immer mitdenken'[95] and appears to confront some of the more – in his eyes – torturous Cold War broadcasting realities for the first time:

> Beginnen sie jetzt, in diesem Drittel Deutschlands angesiedelt, an den beiden anderen Dritteln teilzunehmen und – hörend und blickend wenigstens – dort mitzuleben? Oder ist das Täuschung? Und wenn es keine ist, wie kann man in solcher Bewußtseinsspaltung leben?[96]

Horrified by these realisations, Luft seems relieved to be returning to West Berlin but he also ends his special edition feuilleton radio piece on an earnest note, saying he will return and stressing how much it meant to him to re-visit the stomping ground of his youth after so many years: 'Wir haben eine Heimat wiedergesehen. Wenig rührt und bewegt eines Mannes Herz mehr.' By referring to Brandenburg as Heimat, Luft adopts the voice of the 'Gesamtberliner' again, but only once settled safely back in the West, the change of space impacting his attitude and tone of address.

---

[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.

Luft's voice is strikingly different in the above piece and although it is, without a doubt, the result of reporting from Brandenburg for the first time, it is also the result of a different radio format. His voice does not vary as much in his weekly 15-minute programme *Die Stimme der Kritik.* Most weeks Luft simply takes his listeners to one or two of West Berlin's theatre houses, and he ensures it makes no difference from where they listen and whether the Wall prevents them from going to the same theatres of their own accord, without Luft. This is clear in one of his obituaries which states 'Luft schrieb fürs Volk',[97] stressing his popular appeal, regardless of from where his listeners tuned in. Yet, from time to time the Cold War divide pervades the safe, discursive space Luft forges over the years. It is in these instances that Luft proves to be an 'unvergleichliche Instanz'[98] – an unrivalled authority – upon whom many listeners rely to feel secure in uncertain times, and these instances are the focus of the final section of this chapter.

4.4 Continuity in Turbulent Times: Luft's Presence

Luft's co-presence is constant. Come what may, he is there on the same station, the 'gleiche Welle' and in the same space his listeners meet him every week, regardless of whether the 'gleiche Stelle' is the kitchen, the garden or the car. This constancy is invaluable because it offers the opportunity to chart history as told by one voice. As Berlin's political divide becomes concrete reality on 13 August 1961, Luft's discursive space remains intact and possibly reinforced. Just like the news reporters in chapter two, Luft is there as it happens and, because the Wall went up on a Sunday, his 'dispatch' is just as up-to-date as those broadcast as bulletins. By contrast, he has a different broadcasting space within which to make his observations, a space in which he would much rather talk about art:

> Ist es statthaft, daß man sich Gedanken macht über Erscheinungen der schönen Künste, während auf der Straße und im Leben eines jeden von uns Verbrecherisches angezettelt wird?[99]

He quickly delivers the facts for any listeners who may have only just switched on their radios and might be unaware of what is happening: 'Die Hauptstadt

[97] Ulrike Buchmann, 'Die Würze des Berliner Theaters: Zum Tode des berühmten Kritikers Friedrich Luft', *Der Morgen*, 27 December 1990.
[98] Joachim Kaiser, 'Was Friedrich Luft uns war', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 27 December 1990.
[99] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 13 August 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 403.

unseres Landes, die Stadt Berlin, ist in der vergangenen Nacht mit Stacheldraht durchzogen worden. Verkehrswege sind vorsätzlich blockiert.'[100] His voice is defiant as he inaccurately and intentionally describes Berlin as Germany's capital, simultaneously ignoring the existence of the GDR and that of Bonn and revealing resentment for the current state of his home city. Yet he seems to resign himself almost immediately to the permanency of the barbed wire and offers sanctuary in the sphere created by his show. For the sake of his listeners he is stoic in a spirit reminiscent of the Airlift:

> Das Leben wird weitergehen. Und die Arbeit auch. Anders vielleicht, ernster, bewußter bestimmt. Bangemachen gilt nicht. Wir gehören zueinander. Wir werden weiter miteinander sprechen. […] Es wird weitergehen ohne Panik.[101]

And as if to prove that the day-to-day must continue despite the extraordinary circumstances, Luft launches into his weekly arts news, although this week he reports on the death of a Berlin actor, something he believes cannot be overlooked even on a day like today. The extent to which Luft is rattled by the events going on around him is evident in his parting words. Instead of signing off with his familiar and soothing catchphrase, he simply leaves his listeners with the words: 'Aufwiederhören – bis zum nächsten Mal!' For all Luft's insistence that he and his fellow Berliners will remain calm, this valediction is unsettling. It undermines his attempts to convince his listeners that all will be well, and that 'Stacheldraht hat den Geist nie töten und verbieten können'. Instead it suggests he is not certain whether his show will even air again in the same place, same frequency and same time next week. It is his omission of 'gleiche Stelle' that is most striking. 'Gleiche Stelle' refers to where he and his listeners meet each week; it is his discursive space. In Firstspace terms this discursive space varies greatly; some listeners meet Luft at home or out on the road in their cars. Some meet him in Prenzlauer Berg, Hohenschönhausen, Marzahn, Friedrichshain or Mitte, others meet him in Schöneberg, Moabit, Kreuzberg or Charlottenburg. By leaving out his trusty farewell catchphrase, Luft acknowledges that some of his listeners may not be meeting him in the 'gleiche Stelle' next week. Some listeners who, for example, listened in last

[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.

week from Schöneberg but this week are in Mitte, do not know whether they'll ever listen from Schöneberg again.

When he does return to the airwaves for *Die Stimme der Kritik* a week later on 20 August, Luft continues to forgo arts reporting in order to voice his concerns about the chaos that continues in Berlin.[102] He bemoans the radio programming coming from the East, comparing it with the militarism of the 1930s and 1940s: 'Wieder erklingen aus östlichen Radiostationen Marschmusiken, Durchhalteparolen, Wunschkonzerte – es ist alles, alles wieder da' and he is unnerved by the presence of 'deutschsprechende Uniformträger'.[103] This week, he also turns his attention to the arts in the city and how they have been affected by the sudden appearance of a barbed wire border. He wonders why he has not heard voices of protest from East Berlin's art world, one that is 'nunmehr völlig ausgeklammert [...] von der freien Welt'. He insists that the arts shall prove the city's saviour a week later on 27 August 1961, but cannot yet bring himself to return to reviewing shows and films. He is aware of the expressive powers of his voice and the influence it wields when he mimics his listeners with the remark 'Sorgen hat der in seiner Stimme der Kritik!'[104] At the same time, he is aware of the purpose and format of his show and of his own limitations as a political commentator: 'Das hier laufend zu berichten und zu analysieren, ist die Aufgabe dieser Sendung nicht.'[105]

The following week he returns to arts criticism with gusto and – astonishingly – he reports from Edinburgh for the festival, then from London a week later on 10 September 1961. He admits how absurd it must appear that he is on a 'Musenreise' in such difficult times and insists that he remains worried about Berlin. Nevertheless, he also speaks of the 'schönen, der aufregenden, der überfüllten, der unerschöpflichen Stadt London' as if unaware a large proportion of his audience is no longer able to travel to the West.[106] On 17 September, he makes it clear he has returned to Berlin and that he is speaking 'vom häuslichen Mikrophon', his choice of adjective perhaps an

[102] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 20 August 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 403.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 27 August 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 403.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 10 September 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 404.

attempt to endear himself to his listeners following his two-week tour.[107] He talks of Edinburgh and London and how he would happily have dropped in on Paris too but admits that might be less than appropriate considering the circumstances of many of his listeners. On 24 September he opens his show by justifying why it is necessary to report from the Berliner Festwochen,[108] and that he is determined to make his GDR listeners feel as if they too have attended. By October, Luft rarely mentions current events, if at all, and launches straight into reviews of productions from Bochum on the Ku'damm and a Harold Pinter play at the Tribüne.

His shows from November 1989 echo those from August 1961. Again, he acknowledges that 'an raren Tagen wie diesen, […] da treten die Künste in den Schatten'[109] and on his show aired the Sunday after the Wall falls, he reminisces how he reported the building of the Wall twenty-eight years earlier. He recounts details not included in the 1961 programme, such as how he travelled to the Brandenburg Gate as soon as he heard the news on his transistor radio before heading to the studio to broadcast the show. His memories do not quite match the recording from 1961; he claims he spoke of nothing but the Wall, and seems to have forgotten his short tribute to a recently passed away actor. The quality of his voice matches his fading memory. It sounds, all of a sudden, much older. It is weaker and hoarse. He delivers his script at a noticeably slower pace, his diction is not as clear and he sometimes sounds out of breath or has to inhale deeply before getting to the end of his sentences. He also loses his place on several occasions or mispronounces words, suggesting his eyesight has diminished, and more than in any other show, the microphone picks up the rustling of his six to seven paged script. This also reveals that in even the most exceptional of times, Luft – together with many other radio professionals – scripts his reaction. As discussed above, the urgency with which Luft writes his scripts at the last minute does not detract from or devalue what he has to say, nor does it make it any less current. Most radio is scripted to some degree to ensure the presenter says everything they wish to say within the allotted time slot. The secret to ensuring it sounds as

[107] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 17 September 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 404.
[108] Together with the Berlin film festival, the annual Berliner Festwochen was a performing arts festival that took place in West Berlin, starting in 1951.
[109] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 12 November 1989, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 410.

spontaneous as it was when put to paper even half an hour before going on air is liveliness, something Friedrich Luft's voice never lacks.

A year later, on his show from 7 October 1990, just four days after German reunification, his voice is a touch stronger at times, but he remains out of breath. His increasingly shaky delivery in this show might be emotion as much as age. He seems more emotional about the news of reunification than the fall of the Wall, and certainly more surprised: 'dieser Tage muß man sich immer wieder die Augen reiben. Man will's nicht glauben, dass nämlich das Tal der deutschen Trennung doch endlich überwunden ist.'[110] He immediately lists the Brandenburg daytrip destinations that are much easier to reach now that the borders are well and truly gone. Referring to the destinations as his 'Jugendland', Luft's voice is tinged with a hue of sadness, a realisation that he will not necessarily have the opportunity to take advantage of the newfound freedom. He contrasts his joy that Berliners can travel freely again with memories of border crossings, memories that won't leave him that he would rather forget, but – just as he declares in his very first show in 1946 that the National Socialist past cannot be ignored – Luft insists the same *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* must be applied to the now past period of separation.

> Wir alle sollten, ob im alten Westen oder im neuen Osten, welche anderen Schwierigkeiten wir sonst auch heute haben mögen – wir alle sollten solche Erfahrungsbilder nicht vergessen oder verdrängen. Sie gehörten durch Jahrzehnte zu unserem Leben. Sie sind real – endlich – gelöscht. Vergessen sollten wir sie nicht.[111]

These are some of the last words spoken on *Die Stimme der Kritik*. Luft broadcast for the last time, without knowing it, two weeks later. The fact that his voice disappeared from Berlin's airwaves so soon after reunification undoubtedly struck a poignant chord with his listeners, as if he had known his work was done. The almost fifty-year-old weekly assignation could no longer be honoured, and although Luft's voice was gone, it is likely it took a little while longer for his discursive space – the 'gleiche Stelle' – to dissipate, his listeners tuning in out of habit just before midday on a Sunday in their same Firstspaces,

[110] Friedrich Luft, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 7 October 1990, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 411.
[111] Ibid.

only to be reminded by the presence of a different voice that times had changed and, for the very first time, to feel the true and full absence of Friedrich Luft.[112]

Conclusion

As the epigraph to this chapter implies, Friedrich Luft knew no borders. From 1961, he wittingly provided a 'Luft-Brücke' for Berliners now separated permanently from their families, friends and theatres. His voice was welcomed on a weekly basis into homes throughout the city, from Zehlendorf to Hohenschönhausen, for almost the entire duration of the Cold War. Luft's enduring appeal is not purely the result of radio technology's ability to bridge borders; Luft achieved resonance, respect and a loyal listenership by forging a discursive space that was inclusive and safe. This discursive space is different from the less personal space created by the Kennedy media event commentator and the formal and formulated space of news reporters, whose dispatches are more mono-directional than discursive. Upon entering Luft's radio space, listeners knew to expect irreverence towards propaganda from the East and a friendly disregard towards editorial intervention from RIAS. By taking his listeners to the theatre, he created a co-presence that was also an escape from the political realities of everyday life in the divided city. Luft's ability to speak to his listeners as if they were sitting next to him in the front row of the theatre was recognised by RIAS; his voice was trusted. RIAS recognised this by letting Luft's voice ring out on a weekly basis for almost half a century, adding to his dependability. The next chapter examines how another radio station sought to create a discursive space for silenced voices.

[112] The BBC experienced a similar phenomenon when John Peel passed away in 2004 and it took them some time to decide how to replace Peel's Saturday morning slot in which he had presented *Home Truths* on Radio 4 for many years. More recently, Radio 4 listeners were very vocal about the voluntary redundancy taken by newsreaders Charlotte Greene and Harriet Cass, many unable to imagine the news being read by anybody else.

Chapter 5

SPACE OF RESISTANCE: *RADIO GLASNOST*

> Wir funken dazwischen
>
> — *Radio Glasnost*[1]

While Friedrich Luft enjoyed the freedom to voice his opinions on a weekly basis for the entire duration of the Cold War, many voices in the East remained mute despite the porous nature of the divided city's broadcasting space. As much as West Berlin's public broadcasters strived to provide the East with the freedom of information that was lacking under the SED's state-controlled censored media, they were unable to offer the East the space needed for full freedom of expression. Even if a Western correspondent reporting from the East successfully navigated his or her way past SED propaganda and public relations hurdles, they were still restricted by the wider editorial and political agendas of the Western broadcasters. Most significantly, their reports had a Western voice; even if they contained interviews and *vox populi* from the East, the voice of West Berlin radio was ultimately Western. It was private commerce that eventually provided the broadcasting space in which Eastern voices could speak and express themselves freely. In the summer of 1987 the launch of a one-hour, monthly radio show on West Berlin's first commercial radio station significantly altered the shared mediaspace of divided Berlin, opening it up to and providing a platform for the previously unheard voices of the GDR. The show was called *Radio Glasnost*.

Drawing upon a variety of audio and written material from the Havemann Archives, the Stasi Archives in Berlin, and interviews I conducted with the show's former producers and presenter, this chapter chronicles its hitherto seldom told story, assesses its spatial significance and the voices it rendered audible.[2]

---

[1] 'Wir funken dazwischen' is how *Radio Glasnost* described itself in its own words on air.

[2] With the exception of an article published by the Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, a short entry in Stefan Wolle's volume on everyday culture in the GDR and an unpublished German Masters dissertation, no detailed study of *Radio Glasnost* – academic or otherwise – has been published. See Jacqueline Boysen, *Radio Glasnost – außer Kontrolle: Ein West-Berliner Sender der DDR-Opposition*, Berlin: bpb, 2010), Stefan Wolle, *Die heile Welt der Diktatur: Alltag und Herrschaft in der DDR, 1971–1989* and Fred Kowasch, *Vom schwarzen Kanal zu Radio Glasnost* (unpublished master's dissertation, Freie Universität, Berlin, 1997). Kowasch's Masters dissertation is by far the most detailed of these works. As a former member of the production team, Kowasch offers personal insight to the subject and details how *Radio Glasnost* was set up, analyses a selection of shows and their reception.

Radio Glasnost was broadcast by a group of West Berliners and GDR exiles from a makeshift studio in a left-wing squat on Potsdamer Straße in the West Berlin district of Schöneberg. In spite of its studio location, *Radio Glasnost*'s intended audience was situated on the other side of the Wall. *Radio Glasnost* was not only a show primarily aimed at East Berliners, it was made by East Berliners, exclusively. This collaborative model of radio production is unique in the history of the divided city. The show aired reports made covertly in East Berlin by GDR citizens, smuggled over the border by the studio's contacts. As illicit as the show's newsgathering methods were, its transmission was entirely legitimate. *Radio Glasnost* went out every last Monday of the month on West Berlin's first private – or commercial – radio station, Radio 100, and it could be heard throughout West and East Berlin and in two-thirds of the GDR.

Radio Glasnost amplified the voices of the various opposition groups in the GDR, voices that were gaining in number but relentlessly silenced by the Stasi. Unsurprisingly, the Stasi were some of *Radio Glasnost*'s most dedicated listeners. In a manner befitting their surveillance methods, the Stasi didn't just listen, they listened in and – as the West Berlin centre-left newspaper *Tagesspiegel* predicted in a review[3] of the first show – they analysed every sentence aired. The *Behörde des Bundesbeauftragten für Stasi-Unterlagen* (BStU) has in its archives a number of transcripts of the shows, meticulously put to paper by Stasi officers. Ironically, unlike the majority of transcribed eavesdropping logged by the Stasi, these files contain records of conversations that were not private, but readily audible to the public. The Stasi did not limit their activities to monitoring; they launched two massive operations to jam the station, successfully in part. *Radio Glasnost* fought back, simply repeating its shows and reporting on the Stasi attacks.

In spatial terms, *Radio Glasnost* is exceptional. It is an example of Soja's interpretation[4] of Lefebvre's *espace vécu* – a site of resistance – somewhere between Second- and Thirdspace. From a Habermasian perspective, *Radio Glasnost* grants GDR citizens space they have limited access to within the GDR, a private sphere in the form of a commercial, market economy driven radio station, from where they may criticise the State that, at least officially, constitutes the GDR's entire public (and private) non-democratic sphere. The

[3] Peter Gärtner, 'Erstmals funkt "Radio Glasnost" für die Hörer in der DDR', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 31 August 1987.
[4] Edward Soja, in Jannson and Lagerkvist, eds., *Strange Spaces*, 2009, p. 37.

title of this chapter – Space of Resistance – and its epigraph – *Wir funken dazwischen* – make reference not only to political opposition, but to the alternative, counter-culture broadcasting practice from which *Radio Glasnost* hails. *Dazwischenfunken* – meaning broadcasting in between the official frequencies – alludes to jamming. It refers not only to the officially sanctioned jamming carried out by the Stasi, [5] but also to West Berlin's pirate radio stations which, in the 1980s, would interfere with the airspace of Western, public broadcasters for five minutes at a time by transmitting radio signals tuned to the same frequencies of RIAS and SFB, disrupting and silencing their broadcast and what they viewed as the official voices of the West.[6] The result would sound like the hiss of ordinary radio interference, as if the dial were not accurately tuned to the station. *Radio Glasnost* has its roots in, and owes its existence to, this form of mediated political resistance, but it does not continue in the same vein. The show's one-hour, monthly slot was far too precious to be spent jamming other frequencies and silencing other voices. Instead it granted much needed space and gave a voice to grass-roots opposition groups within the GDR. *Radio Glasnost*, therefore, constitutes an invaluable source for the history of the multifarious GDR opposition as well as an account of how the advent of private, commercial broadcasting changed the Cold War media landscape on the Berlin front, challenging the monopoly of the public broadcasting system over the airwaves. Capitalist market forces were now an independent game-player in the ether of Cold War Berlin and, as this chapter illustrates, GDR citizens were set to gain from this shift to consumerism and the Habermasian public sphere it created; a fact that is undoubtedly uncomfortable for those members of the GDR opposition averse to Western capitalism as an alternative to the SED regime as much as it was for the *Linksalternativen* running Radio 100.

---

[5] Jamming was only officially sanctioned by the GDR authorities. Any interference with broadcast signals on Western territory represented a serious contravention of article 15 of the Radio Regulations of the International Telecommunication Union which, in paragraph one, states: 'All stations are forbidden to carry out unnecessary transmissions, or the transmission of superfluous signals, or the transmission of false or misleading signals, or the transmission of signals without identification.' Source: http://www.itu.int/pub/R-REG-RR, [accessed 8 August 2014]. Jamming also breaches article 19 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which declares: 'Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.' Source: http://www.ichrp.org/en/article_19_udhr, [accessed 8 August 2014].

[6] West Berlin pirate radio stations of the 1980s included Radio Kreuzberg, Radio Utopia, Radio Schwarze Ratte, Radio GAGA and Radio Metropolis. See Kowasch, *Vom schwarzen Kanal zu Radio Glasnost,* 1997, p. 26.

Based entirely on a range of primary sources including tapes, press reactions, Stasi files, promotional *Handzettel* and samizdat, production notes and interviews conducted with its former founders, this chapter first summarizes the historical context of the two Berlins in the late 1980s as well as its changing mediascape (sections 5.1.1 – 5.1.2), and details the concept and logistics behind what effectively was both West Berlin's and the GDR's first private radio show (sections 5.1.3 – 5.1.4). The chapter then focuses on the chief primary source – the tapes of all 28 shows – providing both an overview of a typical show (section 5.2.1) as well as closer analysis of the topics covered over the two year period during which *Radio Glasnost* was aired (section 5.2.2 – 5.2.5). Finally, an analysis of the reactions to *Radio Glasnost* is provided, both those of the press (section 5.3.1) and those of the Stasi (section 5.3.2). The spatial implications of *Radio Glasnost* and how the show fostered polyphony in an officially monophonic state are considered throughout.

5.1 Context

5.1.1 The Struggle for Space and Voice

Radio Glasnost became the broadcasting terrain of the anti-establishment on both sides of the Wall. In the East, discontent was rife by the late eighties. The GDR's economy was in palpable decline, industry was producing more pollution than useable goods, housing conditions were poor even in the new *Plattenbau* districts of Marzahn and Hellersdorf, and shortages were the norm. Above all, the continued restrictions on travel and limited freedom of expression triggered deep-felt resentment. Applications to leave the GDR, of which most were rejected, rose from 21,500 in 1980 to 113,000 in 1988[7] and those who wished to remain were demanding reforms in line with Gorbachev's *Perestroika* (economic restructuring) and *Glasnost* (openness). Erich Honecker's refusal to heed to Gorbachev's reforms only fuelled the opposition's disenchantment with the SED's police state version of Socialism. While the GDR's neighbours Poland and Hungary both pre-empted and followed Gorbachev's example and got on with refashioning Socialism,[8] Honecker tightened his grip, banning, for

[7] David Childs, *The Fall of the GDR* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001), p. 44.
[8] The revolution in Poland began in 1980 with the Solidarnosc movement; Hungary dismantled its borders with Austria in May 1989.

instance, the Soviet publications *Sputnik* and *Ogonyok* as late as 1988,[9] a move antithetical with Glasnost.

Gorbachev's visit to Berlin in 1987 encouraged the growing opposition's determination for reform, for which they required communication channels separate from those of the state apparatus. Many of those long since discouraged by Honecker's 'real existierender Sozialismus' ceased the practice of *Eigen-Sinn*.[10] Instead, they emerged from the quasi-private spheres of 'innere Abgrenzung' to which they had retreated and sought a forum for critical, public debate. This was not to be found via the officially endorsed channel of *Eingaben*, [11] a quasi-public sphere of 'controlled debate', but it was possible in the Protestant church. The Church had managed to retain a small degree of independence from the atheist state and was the only site at which citizens could gather freely.[12] It provided 'a public sphere of sorts'[13] in which discussion groups could speak plainly about desired reforms, such as the right of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom to travel, a free, open press, and a multiparty democracy. As diverse as these grass-roots groups were,[14] most were 'vaguely ecological and vaguely social democratic'[15] and anti-nuclear peace advocates. They were not calling for the abolition of the GDR nor the adoption of the West German system, but for a humane and democratic form of Socialism.[16] The very existence of opposition groups demonstrates that the people of the GDR were not 'a passive and powerless population'[17] but one of

---

[9] For coverage of the *Sputnik* ban see *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 26 December 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[10] Alf Lüdtke's concept of *Eigen-Sinn* and how it has been applied to the GDR by a number of historians is discussed in: Esther von Richthofen, *Bringing Culture to the Masses: Control, Compromise and Participation in the GDR* (New York: Berghahn, 2009), pp. 10-14. Von Richthofen warns against confusing *Eigen-Sinn* with resistance and subscribes to Lüdtke's original meaning for an historiographical approach to the GDR. She asserts that the GDR practice of *Eigen-Sinn* comprises 'people carving out individual spaces for themselves […] to shield individuals from a higher authority, but also from one another' (p. 12).
[11] Issuing *Eingaben* was the officially acceptable channel of criticism within the GDR. Citizens could write letters (*Eingaben*) to the state authorities with suggestions for improvement for any manner of issues. See von Richthofen, 2009, p. 211.
[12] See Wendy R. Tyndale, *Protestants in Communist East Germany* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), Claudia Lepp and Kurz Nowak, eds., *Evangelische Kirche im geteilten Deutschland 1945–1989/1990* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001).
[13] Mary Fulbrook, *The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 265.
[14] See Childs, *Fall of the GDR,* 2001, pp. 77-81 for detail on the various opposition groups and parties, from Neues Forum and Demokratie Jetzt, to Demokratischer Aufbruch. Also see RHG/Archiv der DDR-Opposition/Sendung, *Radio Glasnost*, 27 November 1989.
[15] Childs, *The Fall of the GDR,* 2001, p. 81.
[16] Mary Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) p. 242.
[17] von Richthofen, *Bringing Culture to the Masses,* 2009, p. 9.

'participants, functionaries and agents'.[18] They by no means subscribed to the West German system as a viable or desired alternative, something – possibly the only thing – they had in common with West Berlin's *Linksalternativen*.

The lack of space for open debate in the East was mirrored by a diminution in physical space west of the Wall. The West Berlin squatter scene was flourishing at the beginning of the decade; the number of squats increased from 18 to 150 between 1980 and 1981.[19] Nervous of these growing numbers and the effect it might have on investment, the West Berlin authorities launched a crackdown on the thriving, but illegal *Hausbesetzerszene.* Evictions sparked demonstrations and clashes between the police and so-called *Chaoten*, whipping up the *linksradikale* hatred of the establishment that was a legacy of the city's student demonstrations in the late sixties and the birth of left-wing political terrorism with the meeting of Ulrike Meinhoff, Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin in West Berlin in 1970. But the struggle for space was not just a physical, Firstspace matter. Like the regime opponents in the GDR, the West Berlin anti-establishment wanted their voices heard and, distrusting of the mainstream media, quite literally sought out their own channel.

5.1.2 *Gegenöffentlichkeit*: Anti-establishment and Illegal Media in East and West Berlin

The new, alternative and in most instances underground channels of communication emerging on both sides of the Wall during the 1980s – albeit for very different reasons and under contrasting conditions – converged on occasion. Eventually, each side depended upon the other to navigate and re-claim Berlin's airwaves and change its media space in order to make their voices heard. *Radio Glasnost* and its predecessor Schwarzer Kanal[20] are two examples of such cross-border collaboration, as this chapter shall demonstrate. A variety of media – East and West, illegal and legal – constituted a form of *Gegenöffentlichkeit*, from the fortnightly East Berlin supplement in the recently launched left-leaning West German broadsheet, the *taz*, to the self-publishing sector of Samizdat and a number of pirate radio stations.

[18] von Richthofen, *Bringing Culture to the Masses,* 2009, p. 16.
[19] Clay Large, *Berlin,* 2000, p. 493.
[20] The East Berlin pirate radio station Der Schwarze Kanal is not to be confused with Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler's television show of the same name which the short-lived station undoubtedly referenced.

Samizdat was the only way to circumvent censorship in the eastern Bloc. It was illegal, but practised widely, despite the risks and hurdles involved. Publications varied considerably in both form and content, but most common were booklets devoted to reporting dissident activities and news not covered by the official press as well as leaflets produced to spread the word about forthcoming demonstrations and meetings. Figure 5.1 shows a modest piece of samizdat made to promote *Radio Glasnost*'s first programme. It was made in the north-eastern district of Weißensee using a toy stamp and ink printing set and surreptitiously posted into the mailboxes of Prenzlauer Berg residents, where much of the GDR dissident scene was situated. *Grenzfall*, *Umweltblätter*, *Arche Nova*, *Fliegendes Papier* and *Telegraph* are just a selection of the titles produced in East Berlin during the 1980s.[21] Because of the restricted access to typewriters and copy-machines and the constant infiltration from the Stasi, Samizdat was not only difficult to produce but also to reproduce and distribute widely.[22] What today are valuable pieces of ephemera was, under censorship, a valuable source of information passed from one hand to another. [23]

[21] For further literature on Samizdat in the GDR see Ilko-Sascha Kowalczuk, ed., *Freiheit und Öffentlichkeit. Politischer Samisdat in der DDR 1985–1989* (Berlin: Schriftenreihe der Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, 2002) and the website http://ddr-samisdat.de, [accessed 8 August 2014].

[22] The Umweltbibliothek was founded on 2 September 1986 in the parish hall of the Zionskirche in Berlin-Mitte and served as a library, bar, gallery and archive until 1998. Before 1989, it served as a meeting point for the GDR opposition and produced Samizdat that ran under the title *Umweltblätter* and addressed issues such as the environment, human and civil rights, and disarmament.

[23] The ephemeral nature of *Radio Glasnost* cannot be underestimated. The show exists on the cassette tapes onto which it was recorded from the radio. The Havemann archives have since digitalised these tapes, the life span of which is as limited as paper.

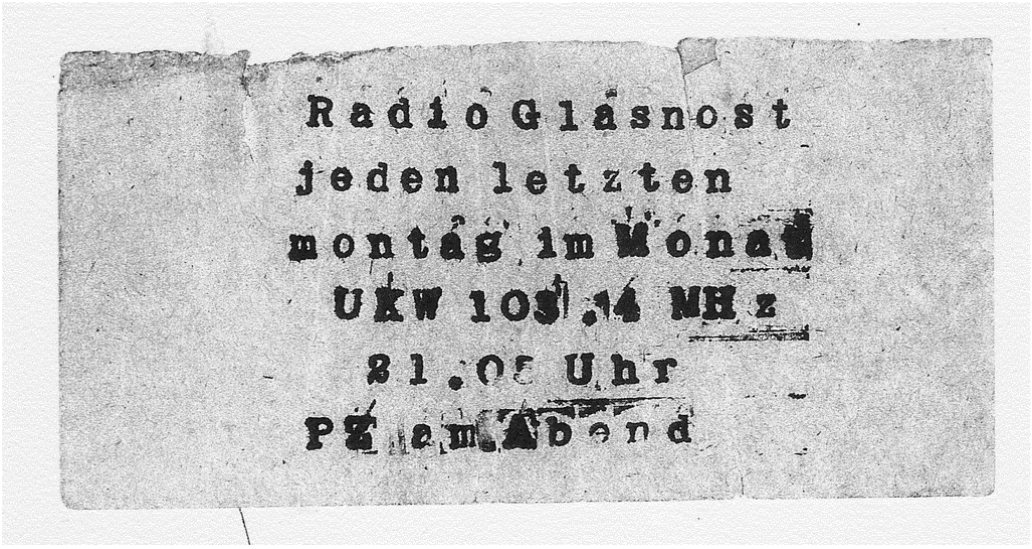


Figure 5.1: Samizdat promotional material for Radio Glasnost. Printed using a children's ink and stamp set and distributed covertly throughout Prenzlauer Berg. (Source: Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/RAD01)

In West Berlin the *taz* supplement, the 'Ost-Berlin-Seite', endeavoured to provide the GDR opposition with a voice by printing their articles. The publication's editor was the GDR exile Roland Jahn, who later helped launch *Radio Glasnost*. Jahn used his contacts to smuggle the articles and texts into the West to be printed. Although intended as what could be described as a form of collaborative Samizdat primarily for the East, restricted distribution renders it, more accurately, an unintentional form of Tamizdat – texts originating from the East, published and read abroad. The main difficulty with the medium of print was dissemination; Western newspapers and magazines did not cross the border into the GDR in any significant number. Radio was the only medium with the potential to guarantee the level of reciprocity required to create a democratic, but protected public sphere for the East. Television would have been too conspicuous, both in its production and its transmission; *Radio Glasnost* rarely even referred to its contributors from the East by surname. Unlike the privately run, commercial print sector in the West, radio was subject to public broadcasting regulations. Until the launch of Radio 100 (on which *Radio Glasnost* was broadcast), there was no *legal* radio equivalent of the *taz*,[24] and radio voices remained very much those endorsed by the mainstream public broadcasters.

Pirate stations existed fleetingly on both sides of the Wall. Again, production conditions in East Berlin were far more compromised and more

[24] In his interview with me, Roland Jahn referred to *Radio Glasnost* as 'die taz im Rundfunk'.

dangerous than in the West, so much so that it proved impossible to broadcast without the help of the West. In East Berlin in 1986, a small group of regime detractors interested in peace, human rights and environmental issues attempted to open up the rigid and, from within, almost impenetrable broadcasting space of the GDR. They named their pirate station Der Schwarze Kanal, which was almost certainly a direct and provocative reference to Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler's television show of the same name that from 1960 to 1989 'analysed' Western television news in line with official propaganda.[25] The pirate station amounted to a mere three thirty-minute broadcasts in all, of which only the first could easily be heard. The Stasi were quick to jam the show, promptly silencing the protest voices, and they went after its alleged producers in the East, who sent the final tapes West for broadcasting on one of West Berlin's illegal pirate radio stations. West Berlin's official media space was more pluralistic than that of East Berlin's, yet under attack from the authorities its *Hausbesetzer* saw the need for their own channels launching a number of pirate stations including Radio Kreuzberg, Radio Utopia, Radio Schwarze Ratte and Radio Kebab[26] – all of which were short-lived because of their illegality. And this was the flaw in the East Berlin pirate station's broadcasting model; in breaching the law on both sides of the Wall, *Der Schwarze Kanal* was neither sustainable nor safe and was unable to open up broadcasting space sufficient enough to make their voices heard above the blare of the state monophony.

5.1.3 The Legalisation of *Gegenöffentlichkeit*

In 1985, West Berlin's anti-establishment scene launched an alternative event to the *Internationale Funkausstellung* (IFA), the city's broadcasting fair. The aim of the *Internationale Bild- und Tonstörung* was to find ways to increase the Federal Republic's broadcasting space so as to allow room for a more diverse range of voices on the publicly regulated airwaves. Founded at the alternative fair, the *Freundeskreis Freier Radios Berlin* (FFRB) went on to lobby for a legal alternative to pirate radio stations, for a broadening and opening up of the West

[25] The television show's opening credits show an animation of an eagle – meant to represent the Federal Republic – landing on domestic television antennas. The theme tune combines the sound of Morse code with a distorted out-of-tune musical phrase that references one of Joseph Haydn's passages from the Federal Republic's national anthem, *Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit*. As the eagle flies away, the antenna crashes to the ground.
[26] See 'Mia bracha a freis Radio', *Der Spiegel*, 25 May 1981, pp. 192-98, and Kowasch, *Vom schwarzen Kanal zu Radio Glasnost,* 1997, p. 24.

Berlin's radio landscape.[27] West Berlin's alternative scene was effectively attempting to institute their own brand of Gorbachev's *Glasnost*, and in 1986 the Berliner Kabelrat invited tenders for two radio frequencies. A new collective *Radio 100 Anbietergemeinschaft*[28] put in a bid for a frequency. They were successful, in part. In November 1986, the Berliner Kabelrat awarded the shared frequency 100,6 FM to two very different bidders: Schamoni Medien GmbH and Radio 100, allocated twenty hours and four hours a day respectively. As the December 1986 issue of *Info-Dienst Neue Medien* details, a shared frequency was awarded in the interests of plurality:

> Der Kabelrat erwartet von den Beteiligten, daß sie ungeachtet unterschiedlicher Standpunkte unter Respektierung der Interessen des jeweils anderen Frequenznutzers zur Vielfalt in der Meinungsbildung in Berlin beitragen.[29]

This was West Berlin's first privately funded radio station; Western radio space was no longer the sole domain of the public broadcaster, and – as the *taz* headline 'Privatfunk für drüben'[30] makes clear – neither was Eastern radio space. This fact concerned the Stasi greatly. A document produced solely for 'berechtigte Angehörige des MfSI', offers a particularly insightful summary of the changing Western broadcasting space – a space that had now become a market – from the perspective of the Stasi. Produced by the public affairs department of the Ministerium für Sicherheit (MfS), the in-house publication – intended as 'Informationsmaterial für die Öffentlichkeitsarbeit' – details the 'Instrumente der ideologischen Diversion gegen die DDR', assessing RIAS' part in this as well as the two new commercial radio stations Hundert, 6 and Radio 100. Compared with the language and data used to describe *Radio Glasnost* to the wider GDR public in *Neues Deutschland*, the descriptions of Radio 100 in this internal document are candid, making it a valuable source for charting the history of *Radio Glasnost*. It offers a careful, nuanced and thorough assessment of the impact of privatisation on Berlin's shared broadcasting space. The

[27] Kowasch, *Vom schwarzen Kanal zu Radio Glasnost,* 1997, p. 26.
[28] The then relatively recently founded centre-left broadsheet, the taz, was a member of the collective *Radio 100 Anbietergemeinschaft.*
[29] 'Vergabe der UKW-Frequenzen 100,6 und 103,4 MHz', Info-Dienst Neuer Medien, December 1986.
[30] Martha Sandrock, 'Privatfunk für drüben', *die taz*, 2 September 1987.

authors question whether privatisation will result in an 'Entpolitisierung'[31] on the airwaves:

> Privatsender haben auf regierungs- und parteipolitisches Kalkül weniger Wert zu legen, springen regelrecht in die Marktlücke, wo 'offizielle' Sender mitunter auch Zurückhaltung üben oder Objektivität vorzutäuschen versuchen.[32]

Rather than seeing it as a de-escalation in the media propaganda war, they view this 'Entpolitisierung' as a threat, with the 'verschleierter und indirekter' character of commercial stations diffusing the media's political landscape. They consider this less black and white approach dangerous: 'Privatsender, deren politische Ausrichtung komplizierter zuzuordnen ist, verstärken diesen vermeintlichen Nimbus von Unabhängikeit und Objektivität noch'.[33] Without detailing how, the Stasi internal document concludes that the only way to navigate the increasingly nebulous mediaspace is to 'respond'. Further files detail the nature of this response, entitled Operation David, which is considered in detail in section 5.3.2 of this chapter.

What the Stasi viewed as a dangerous obfuscation of Berlin's shared broadcasting space, the producers at Radio 100 considered a triumph, and this feeling of triumph was, undoubtedly, reinforced by their location. The squat on Potsdamer Straße from which Radio 100 broadcast was just a few doors down from the Voxhaus where, in 1923, Berlin's ether 'spoke' for the first time with the announcement 'Achtung! Achtung! Hier spricht Berlin.' It is as if the Radio 100 crew were reclaiming the airwaves, that a new beginning for radio was taking place right where radio began in the city and giving Berlin its voice back. But, like the Stasi, they were not enamoured with all aspects of privatisation. The other new private radio station with whom Radio 100 shared airspace and airtime was Hundert, 6, a music and talk radio station for West Berlin's conservative *Mittelstand*. Undoubtedly, the producers at Radio 100 would have happily re-applied the Stasi's description of Radio 100 as the 'erster

---

[31] Ministerium für Staatssicherheit/Presseabteilung, 'RIAS, Hundert,6 und Radio 100: Instrumente der ideologischen Diversion gegen die DDR', (Berlin: MfS, April 1989), Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Dokumentation 'Radio Glasnost', p. 47.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ministerium für Staatssicherheit/Presseabteilung, 'RIAS, Hundert,6 und Radio 100: Instrumente der ideologischen Diversion gegen die DDR', (Berlin: MfS, April 1989), Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Dokumentation 'Radio Glasnost', p. 48.

privatkapitalistischer Sender West-Berlins' to Hundert, 6. Forced to share the same frequency by the Berliner Kabelrat, both parties were keen to distance themselves from one another. They did so every evening at hand-over time with contrasting aural markers. Emulating the public broadcaster Deutschlandfunk, Hundert, 6 would end its daily broadcast at 7pm by playing the Federal Republic's national anthem. This was immediately followed by Radio 100's mischievously provocative, even antagonistic opening jingle: the sound of a toilet flushing. In their seventh show on Radio 100 in February 1988, *Radio Glasnost* clarifies the difference in political affiliation and ideological outlook between Radio 100 and Hundert, 6 by drawing parallels with the printed press: 'Radio 100 und Radio 100,6 [haben] soviel gemein wie die linke *taz* und die *Bild*-Zeitung.'[34] The need to refer to the commercial industry of the printed press demonstrates how new and unfamiliar the concept of commercial broadcasting was on both sides of the Wall.

True to the ideal of a Habermasian public space as defined in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*,[35] West Berlin (and to some extent East Berlin) had a new broadcasting space that was more pluralistic, more representative and more democratic. It promised financial, and therefore editorial, independence from the state – something RIAS did not have. But the new, private radio stations were not without their troubles. They now had to serve other interested parties, and were not immune from political interference, as a *taz* article from June 1987 reports. The author of the article laments the advertising model needed to run Radio 100, asking how the station – with its anti-capitalist stance – will attract a sufficient number of advertisers to finance their existence. The article also details CDU criticism directed at Radio 100 not two months after its launch. Rather than supporting Radio 100's alleged broadcasting of police radio during the Mayday riots of that year, the *taz* reporter chastises the network for not thinking through the financial consequences of such a move, reporting that the few advertisers they had managed to secure pulled their funding upon learning of the Mayday broadcast. Although the *taz* reporter does not go so far as to join in with the CDU's angry assessment of the programme-makers ('Randalierer und Chaoten'), of their

[34] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 29 February 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[35] Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 1992. See pp. 2-5 for definitions of 'public' and pp. 181-95 for discussion of the mass media's 'as the public sphere's preeminent institution'.

studio ('Kommandozentrale') or of their editorial intentions ('Steuerung extremistischer Umtriebe und gesetzwidriger Handlungen'),[36] the sense of disappointment is striking. In light of the fact that the *taz* was a shareholder at Radio 100, such a harsh assessment from a politically allied medium is, perhaps, to be expected, and yet it also suggests that Radio 100 were more *linksradikal* than the *Linksalternativen* of the *taz*, demonstrating the extent of the newly created plurality of voices.

The CDU demand that Radio 100's licence be revoked was rejected and, eventually, Radio 100 and Hundert, 6 were allocated separate frequencies, giving both more airtime as well as the distance desired by both stations and provided by the slight turn of the radio dial.[37] The initial sharing of space on one frequency infers there were more voices hankering to be heard than there was media space available, or at least space made available by the Kabelrat, the authorities that ultimately presided over and regulated West Berlin's broadcasting 'market'. The launch of Radio 100 saw the legalisation of a form of *Gegenöffentlichkeit*, at least in the West. The anticipated advertising revenue barely came to fruition[38] and so Radio 100 was run on a shoestring budget by poorly paid staff. [39] Radio 100's end came with the fall of the Wall, when it went into financial administration. According to the Stasi document[40] about the station, Radio 100 had survived on funds from a series of fundraising activities and pledge drives (Sammelaktionen) but with a listenership of about 65,000, it proved less sustainable than the commercially successful Hundert, 6.

---

[36] 'Radio Glasnost', *Der Spiegel*, 7 March 1988, p. 104.
[37] Tips on how to fix your radio in order to listen to the frequency, which is right at the edge of the dial, are given by presenter Marenbach in the April show of 1988.
[38] Ministerium für Staatssicherheit/Presseabteilung, 'RIAS, Hundert,6 und Radio 100: Instrumente der ideologischen Diversion gegen die DDR', (Berlin: MfS, April 1989), Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Dokumentation 'Radio Glasnost', p. 61.
[39] The show's presenter, Ilona Marenbach, makes reference to this on air with a jibe that refers to their limited resources: 'Wir arbeiten hier streng planwirtschaftlich.' See *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 29 August 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[40] Ministerium für Staatssicherheit/Presseabteilung, 'RIAS, Hundert,6 und Radio 100: Instrumente der ideologischen Diversion gegen die DDR', (Berlin: MfS, April 1989), Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Dokumentation 'Radio Glasnost', p. 62. Note that the Stasi document cites listener sponsorship as Radio 100's funding method, a contrast to the spin of *Neues Deutschland* which claims that *Radio Glasnost* is partially funded by Western intelligence. See 'Wer steuert die sogenannte DDR-Opposition?', *Neues Deutschland*, 17 February 1988.

In their own words, Radio 100 ‘macht ein kritisches Programm und schafft Öffentlichkeit’.[41] A printed evening schedule for the month of November 1989 (figure 5.2) paints a picture of a radio station inspired by Gorbachev’s Glasnost, a Glasnost for the West. Its programmes give a voice to a variety of otherwise under-represented and unheard groups. These included the feminist show *Dissonanzen* with a report on sex trafficking, another one on female bodybuilders, an interview with a Berliner gynaecologist arrested by the National Socialists in the 1930s for performing abortions, and *Eldoradio* a show for Berlin’s gay community. In addition to a variety of domestically produced music shows on cyberpunk, Ethno-Beat and Cemetery-Music, Radio 100 also aired *Maximum Rock’n Roll,* an international punk music show produced by the renowned KPFA campus radio at UC Berkeley.

[41] ‘Vox-Hörzeitung‘, November 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/RAD01.

Figure 5.2: 'Vox-Hörzeitung', November 1989, (Source: Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/RAD01)

In the words of the *taz*, Radio 100 is 'schlecht, zu wenig professionell' and '[n]achgemacht, abgekupfert von den "Großen".'[42] This negative review does not refer to *Radio Glasnost* that, at the time of its publication, was yet to be launched. *Radio Glasnost* could, nevertheless, also be charged as being unprofessional, especially in terms of production quality, for which, however, there are perfectly justifiable reasons. Unlike the rest of Radio 100's content which, although alternative, is now fully legitimate, above board and no longer having to be produced underground, *Radio Glasnost* remains very much an example of *Gegenöffentlichkeit*. *Radio Glasnost*'s presenter, Ilona Marenbach issues apologies for technical hitches and poor sound quality in virtually every programme.[43] For instance, in the sixth show, broadcast in January 1988, she quips 'Ja, das ist keine dadaistische Sendung, sondern das ist immer noch die Technik von Radio 100, die offensichtlich nicht so richtig klappt, wenn es darum geht, Bänder zu löschen',[44] implicating her Western colleagues and saving face for the producers in the East. Some tapes are of such poor quality, that the Radio 100 production team have to re-record the features to enable audibility upon airing. In one instance, Marenbach asks the show's listeners to exercise some patience in listening to a particularly poorly produced piece:

> Das, was jetzt folgt, ist in der DDR selbst produziert worden […]. Leider im technischen Sinne und auch nur im technischen Sinne von nicht so guter Qualität. Wir bitten also verwöhnte Radiohörer dies zu entschuldigen, mir ist es jedenfalls so lieber als wenn wir alles selbst nachsprechen müssen. Also, Ohren gespitzt![45]

The amateur aesthetic and amateur radio voices, for which Marenbach apologises actually bring the listeners closer to the East Berlin contributers; it creates a shared space that is as haphazard as everyday life, particularly an everyday life aiming for fundamental change and reform. The sub-par broadcasting quality also renders *Radio Glasnost* as a quasi audio-samizdat. Like the more common paper form of samizdat, its aesthetic is imperfect, of

---

[42] Brigitte Fehrle, 'Alternativradio in dem Loch zwischen A und Z', *die taz*, 26 June 1987.
[43] Ilona Marenbach began her radio career at Radio 100 hosting *Radio Glasnost* as well as working on other shows. Since then, she has held a number of positions at Berlin's public radio network RBB including editor-in-chief of Radio Multikulti, deputy editor-in-chief of Radioeins. Currently she is head of RBB's multimedia platform 'Wissenschaft' overseeing education reporting on the network.
[44] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 25 January 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[45] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 28 December 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.

compromised quality and amateur, but crucially, it is uncensored and authentic as reflected by the show's full title: *Radio Glasnost* – Außer Kontrolle.

5.1.4. 'Außer Kontrolle': the GDR's first non-Official Radio Show

On one level, the show's expressive subtitle 'außer Kontrolle' refers to broadcasting from beyond the reach of the GDR censors as well as those of the FRG, at least within the confines of the latter's broadcast licencing regulations. On another level, it describes the nature of *Radio Glasnost*'s editorial policy: there is to be no editing. In the name of Glasnost, the producers readily – and vocally – relinquished all editorial rights and duties usually accorded to them. This aspect of the programme's profile was reiterated on air on an almost monthly basis, 'die Redaktion versteht sich als Medium'.[46] The studio producers of *Radio Glasnost* attempted to be as hands-off as possible, instead handing over their radio slot to East Berlin's opposition groups. They evidently did not wish to be seen as another censor, let alone as condescending West Berlin do-gooders, and advocated a show 'ohne erhobenen Westzeigefinger'.[47] Nor did they aspire to observe the rules of balance and impartiality, allegedly adhered to by Western broadcasters. Instead, they strived to provide the perfect conditions for audio Samizdat and Tamizdat. The West Berlin producers had to gain the trust of their contributors who were risking arrest, Stasi interrogation and imprisonment for the sake of *Radio Glasnost*. In one of the interviews I have conducted specifically for this project one of the founders, Dieter Rulff, explains the importance of airing the tapes in their original versions and omitting the editorial procedure adhered to by all broadcasters:

> Und dann war klar, wenn wir das so machen, dann müssen wir erst mal drüben in der Szene Vertrauen schaffen. Die müssen wissen, daß wenn sie praktisch uns als Sender nützen, daß sie genügend möglichst kontrollieren können, was und wie abgesendet wird. Daß sie auch das Gefühl haben, das ist ihr Sender und ihre Sendung.[48]

The result of their promise to broadcast tapes 'as is' was a compromise in journalistic quality. To honour their commitment to make audible the voices of the GDR opposition, the producers were forced to broadcast often exceptionally

[46] Peter Gärtner, 'Erstmals funkt "Radio Glasnost" für die Hörer in der DDR', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 31 August 1987.
[47] *Radio Glasnost*, Radio 100, 22 July 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[48] Dieter Rulff in an interview conducted by the author on 13 December 2013. (see appendix II for full transcript).

long, complex monologues. Dieter Rulff and the presenter Ilona Marenbach, both West Berliners, remember many of the contributions as 'langatmig', 'harte Kost' and 'eigentlich nicht hörbar'[49] or as 'sehr verquarkt, überhaupt nicht emotional, verkopft, ganz furchtbar'.[50]

Co-founder Roland Jahn, an exile of the GDR, is even more critical of the tapes they received:

> Es ist manchmal sehr schwerfällig gewesen. Ich hätte es mir auch weitgehender journalistisch gewünscht, ich hätte mir weniger Agitation gewünscht, ich hätte mehr den journalistischen Blickwinkel auf die Sache gesehen. […] Das war schon manchmal sehr grottig, das war schon manchmal an der Grenze der Konsumierbarkeit für einen Rundfunkhörer.[51]

The frustration with the political agitation and lack of journalistic methods that Jahn expresses even today suggests he had, in the late eighties, acclimatised to the West where he had already been in exile for half a decade. This is reiterated by his expectation that radio content should be 'konsumierbar'. But Jahn and his co-producers were dedicated to taking advantage of the newly created, less regulated space of Radio 100 for the benefit of East Berlin's unheard voices.

> Es gab ja keine Erfahrung in der Opposition an journalistischer Tätigkeit, an Pressefreiheit. Hier ein Stück Pressefreiheit zu gestalten, mit den DDR-Bürgern gemeinsam, das war eigentlich die Herausforderung.[52]

Here it is clear that the studio producers of *Radio Glasnost* situated in West Berlin were as much a part of the struggle for reform, in particular for the right to free speech, as the opposition in East Berlin. They were more than aware of the limitations of West Berlin's public broadcasters and with the advent of commercial broadcasting, they too experienced their own triumph in the struggle for more Glasnost for the West. Ilona Marenbach describes the liberation that came with Radio 100: 'Es gab zum ersten Mal Privatfunk in Deutschland und wir konnten ausbrechen, aus dem öffentlich-rechtlichen

[49] Ibid.
[50] Ilona Marenbach in an interview conducted by the author on 13 December 2013. (see appendix III for full transcript).
[51] Roland Jahn in interview conducted by the author on 10 January 2014. (see appendix I for a full transcript).
[52] Ibid.

System.'[53] As an experienced journalist who at the time also worked for the same public broadcasters, Jahn is more pragmatic in his view of Radio 100's potential: 'Bei RIAS und SFB wäre diese ungefilterte Stimme der Opposition so nicht sendbar gewesen. Das muß man klar und deutlich sagen.'[54]

As noble and as necessary as their editorial approach undoubtedly was, their non-interventional policy was flawed because, unsurprisingly, it proved impossible to produce a show without some sort of an editorial slant from the West, as well as the East. But as the presenter's colourful studio links testify, this was rather fortunate. Ilona Marenbach skilfully brings together often disparate and meandering features, shaping them into a show, tactfully reminding listeners of the unfavourable production conditions under which the pieces have been made. In one of the only published, albeit short, pieces of literature on *Radio Glasnost*, Jacqueline Boysen describes the show as having a 'Service-Charakter'.[55] Boysen is referring to the events calendar known as 'Glasnost-Splitter' read out by Marenbach at the end of each programme. But the description also befits Marenbach's brief asides in which she gives 'ein kurzer Nachhilfekurs'[56] and explains a concept or translates a word from one of the features unfamiliar to Western ears. Twenty-seven years later, Marenbach still views that one of her primary tasks as presenter was to translate:

> Ich habe mir immer versucht vorzustellen, wie ist die Sprache vor Ort und wie weit kann ich gehen, in meiner Übersetzung. Manchmal klang das für mich, das authentische Material, doch sehr anstrengend.[57]

This need for translation underlines the alienation between Germans in the East and in the West. Her address to the West does not stop here. Increasingly, Marenbach uses the shows to criticize the West Berlin government and West German policies. This does not alienate her East Berlin listeners, but rather it brings the anti-establishment in both halves of the city with their opposing systems closer together. This is particularly the case when it comes to environmental issues, as analysed below. Marenbach's unintentional but inevitable editorial angle lends the show an echo greater than had it ignored the

[53] Ilona Marenbach in interview with the author (see appendix III).
[54] Roland Jahn in interview with the author (see appendix I).
[55] Boysen, *Radio Glasnost – außer Kontrolle*, 2010, http://bpb.de/geschichte/zeitgeschichte/deutschlandarchiv/54196/radio-glasnost?p=all [accessed 31 December 2013].
[56] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 30 May 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[57] Ilona Marenbach in Interview with the author (see appendix III).

strange space from which it was being produced.[58] By drawing comparisons between political developments on both sides of the Wall, Marenbach created a more relevant and more resonant show.

Roland Jahn describes Marenbach's voice as a 'Brücke zwischen Ost und West' but one that was 'sehr stark subjektiv gefärbt'. Both Jahn and Rulff confirm the popularity of her voice on both sides of the Wall: 'Ilona Marenbach hatte eine große Fangemeinde gerade wegen der Kommentierung gehabt'. Yet Marenbach's voice held sway not only on account of her witty commentary; she navigated her listeners through a space that she did not know, from a space they did not know. Like her GDR listeners, she had never been to the other side of the Wall and she could not cross into the East because it was too dangerous once the Stasi had started their campaign against *Radio Glasnost*:

> Ich weiß, dass ich mich erschrocken habe, und daß ich mich tatsächlich nicht getraut habe in die DDR zu reisen. Jede Fahrt durch die DDR als Transitreise war immer mit so einem kleinen Fragezeichen, geht es gut?[59]

Never having been to East Berlin, Marenbach was forced to deploy her imagination when reporting on it, creating her own Thirdspace. Marenbach's voice was appealing not only because, like her GDR listeners, she was unable to enter one half of Berlin, albeit the opposite half, but because without prior knowledge of East Berlin, she was wholly reliant upon her listeners' reports. She could not claim to know better, to have witnessed the East for herself like other Western journalists, and so her voice was automatically less condescending. For Marenbach, her listeners' reports made up East Berlin in its entirety. Her listeners were quite literally her ears, her eyes and to a certain extent her voice. A quarter of a century later, Marenbach describes how the strange Thirdspace she and her listeners created remains potent to this very day and how this space simulated actually being in East Berlin, creating memories that are entirely mediated, a phenomenon her Eastern listeners will experience with relation to the West:

> Ich habe nur dann gemerkt, als die Mauer fiel, und das merke ich im übrigen immer noch, sobald ich in Ost-Berlin bin und an bestimmte Orte komme, spult sich ein Film ab. Darüber habe ich berichtet, darüber habe

[58] See Jansson and Lagerkvist for further consideration of the notion that mediaspace is a strange space.
[59] Ilona Marenbach in interview with author (see appendix III).

> ich sehr viel gehört, war in der Gethsemane Kirche, was weiß ich für andere Orte und da spielen bestimmte Leute, da haben Handlungen stattgefunden, über die ich sicherlich mehr gewußt habe als viele andere, obwohl ich die Leute nie getroffen habe.[60]

Marenbach is aware of the privileged position she enjoyed being privy to the opposition's negotiations and she still feels she knew more than others, even though she broadcast everything the opposition sent west. She describes how the Firstspaces of East Berlin differ less from her Thirdspace simulations than the reality of the voices she heard at the time:

> Und das plötzlich alles zu sehen und die Leute kennenzulernen, das war sehr lustig teilweise, weil die Fantasie schon manchmal anders ist, als die Wirklichkeit. Manchmal aber auch nicht. Manchmal war das 100prozentig 'ja, so habe ich es mir vorgestellt'. Und manchmal hätte man mir dreimal sagen müssen, das ist jetzt der und der und ich habe gesagt 'Neh!' Ich habe ein anderes Bild von der Stimme, von dem was meine Fantasie irgendwie zusammengerührt hat. Das war dann lustig in der Zeit.[61]

Marenbach's images and constructed 'memories' of the spaces of East Berlin – particularly spaces of resistance – turned out to be far more accurate than the images she associated with the voices from the other side of the Wall. That these images, her 'film' of spaces such as the Gethsemanekirche play in her head to this day when she is in Prenzlauer Berg also suggests how potent the opposition's recordings were for West Berlin listeners. Jahn pronounces the tapes as exotic to the West Berlin ear:

> So wie ein West-Berliner in eine Kirche wie die Gethsemane Kirche zum Beispiel geht, zu einer Veranstaltung und dort etwas Exotisches erlebt, so waren auch die Mitschnitte der Veranstaltungen im Rundfunk für denjenigen, der in West-Berlin dann diese Veranstaltung verfolgt hat, auch etwas Exotisches, wo er nicht alles verstanden hat, aber mit Interesse zugehört hat.[62]

Jahn describes a shift in the asymmetrical media consumption of the divided city. Rather than the East tuning into the West, Jahn proposes the West were now tuning into the East to enter unknown, intriguing 'insider' spaces. The very

[60] Ilona Marenbach in interview with the author (see appendix III).
[61] Ibid.
[62] Roland Jahn in interview with the author (see appendix I).

fact that a West Berlin radio station was interested enough to broadcast the underground issues of the opposition was probably received as encouraging by East Berliners striving to have their voices heard. Marenbach's accurately imagined East Berlin is the result of close collaboration with the GDR opposition and access to uncensored material. That Marenbach's image of their voices turns out to be less faithful is a common phenomenon in radio, but it also illustrates how varied these voices were.

The show's full title '*Radio Glasnost* – Außer Kontrolle', also signals the contrasting nature of the ideals of the opposition groups in the East and the 'anti-establishment' in the West. Their shared willingness to resist enabled both groups – East and West – to collaborate with one another and produce a show. But the GDR opposition and the *Linksalternative* were products of very different political climates and, with the exception of environmental issues, their goals and concerns were very different. The East was significantly more in need of Glasnost than the West. Cultivating an 'out of control', anarchistic existence in house projects was, by comparison, very much a privilege of being a West Berliner.

A report from Dresden on the situation of the city's punks on the November show of 1988 exemplifies this difference perfectly. In her introduction to the report, Marenbach lumps all punks together: 'ob nun am Kotti in Kreuzberg oder auf dem Alexanderplatz in Ost-Berlin, ob in Hannover oder Dresden'.[63] By referring to another 'Deutsch-deutsche Gemeinsamkeit', she equates the problems punks face in the West with those punks in the East face. This gesture of solidarity, an attempt to identify and empathise with the other side, is undermined by the depressing report that follows, an uncomfortable fact that does not escape Marenbach's attention when she announces that for the past six months, the whole of Dresden's inner city has been declared a punk-free zone by the authorities. The extent to which being different in the East is tougher than being different in the West is immediately obvious in the almost trembling voices of the two men interviewed. One speaks of constant police harassment 'wegen unästhetischem Aussehen',[64] extortionate fines (Ordnungsstrafverfahren) and four weeks spent in custody without charge, all because of his choice of outfit. The second man describes being thrown off a

[63] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 28 November 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[64] Ibid.

tram early one morning, on his way to a doctor's appointment, and being instructed to take a route that goes around the city centre rather than through it to get from one side to another. Dresden's inner city, now a forbidden space for its punks, can hardly compare with the free, 'live and let live' space of West Berlin. The Dresden interviewees complain that the city's citizens have ganged up against them, joining sides with the authorities: 'Sie wissen, daß wir von der staatlichen Seite die Letzten sind und da hacken die braven Bürger noch nach.'[65] Marenbach's choice of 'outro' music – a punk number entitled *Null Bock auf nichts* – is a little dubious, and suggests a lack of empathy that might be better directed at West Berlin's arguably more decadent punk scene. On the other hand, her comment following *Null Bock auf nichts* – '*Radio Glasnost* ist ja manchmal eine prima Punksendung. Wo gibt's das schon?'[66] suggests they are the only medium that believe punks – both East and West – are worthy of attention at all and that *Radio Glasnost* perceives itself as different.

The *Radio Glasnost* studio was not manned solely by Westerners. On the contrary, GDR exiles were essential to the entire operation. Roland Jahn, now federal commissioner of the Stasi archives, provided a lot of the contacts needed to smuggle empty tapes east and the broadcast material back west. Consequently, the Stasi stepped up their surveillance of Jahn. As detailed in a Stasi issued warrant, dated 17 December 1987, to investigate him further: 'Jahn steht im dringenden Verdacht, landesverräterische Nachrichtenübermittlung begangen zu haben [...] zum Nachteil der Interessen der DDR.'[67] Today, Jahn says he was less worried about being under surveillance than he was about the Stasi preventing the show from being broadcast: 'So dolle war das ja nicht auf der einen Seite. Entscheidend war für mich immer, daß die Sendung nicht verhindert wird, daß wir ausstrahlen können.'[68] In addition to jamming, the Stasi attacked *Radio Glasnost* via infiltration. Immediately after the fall of the Wall, a member of the production team confessed to being an 'Inoffizielle Mitarbeiter' for the Stasi. Neither Rulff nor Jahn were surprised, nor were they worried because very few members of the studio were involved in smuggling the tapes:

[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ministerium für Staatssicherheit/Verfügung gemäß §98 der Strafprozeßordnung gegen Roland Jahn, 17 December 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Dokumentation 'Radio Glasnost'.
[68] Roland Jahn in interview with the author (see appendix I).

> Als alles vorbei war, hat er sich uns gegenüber offenbart, und hat gesagt, daß er für die Stasi gearbeitet hat. Wir haben das jetzt nicht so schlimm gefunden. […] Er hatte selber mit der Produktion der Sendung überhaupt nichts zu tun. Er war halt in der Redaktion und bekam natürlich mit, was wir diskutierten, aber bekam nicht mit, wer die Bänder oder die Materialien von Ost- nach West-Berlin transportierte.[69]

The covert nature of *Radio Glasnost*'s newsgathering nevertheless poses a predicament – both today in terms of determining the value of the show as an historical source, and at the time when, ultimately, lives were at risk. It is perfectly valid, indeed responsible, to question the authenticity of the *Radio Glasnost* features on the grounds that the contributors remained, on the whole, completely anonymous. The entire concept relied upon how sound Jahn's contacts were. In the interview he gave me, Jahn details how difficult it was to verify their sources, how just as the opposition had to trust him to broadcast what they produced, Jahn had to base his news judgement on a reciprocated trust:

> Natürlich galt es auch Vertrauen den Oppositionellen gegenüber zu haben, denn wir konnten nicht nachrecherchieren, stimmen die Informationen? Ist es wirklich wahr, daß es dort und dort eine Verhaftung gab? Das war etwas, wo wir uns praktisch auf unsere Informanten verlassen mußten. Natürlich haben wir die journalistischen Prinzipien der zweiten Quelle und so weiter auch noch versucht anzuwenden, aber es war schon etwas, was besonderes war. Dieses gegenseitige Vertrauen, was die Grundlage unserer Arbeit war.[70]

Diligence demands that a degree of caution must be exercised in analysing the following sources, the provenance of which is not absolute. Nevertheless, contributors are named fully in enough instances so as not to detract from the sheer value of this extraordinary audio source and the spaces it creates.

5.2 *Radio Glasnost*: the Shows

This section analyses the tapes: the most important primary source. Section 5.2.1 traces how *Radio Glasnost* was established, from its launch in the form of a pilot show to how, within the first few months on air, the programme made its presence felt in a heavily occupied mediaspace. This introductory section ends

[69] Dieter Rulff in interview with the author (see appendix II).
[70] Roland Jahn in interview with the author (see appendix I).

with an outline of what comprises a typical show. The programme items selected for closer analysis in sections 5.2.2 – 5.2.5 reflect the content, format and style of *Radio Glasnost*'s entire output. Above all, they illustrate the opposition's struggle for space and voice and the issue of shared space. In section 5.2.2, a selection of features charts the opposition's attempt to reclaim space and voice. This includes reports about the desired right of assembly, the longing for freedom to travel and the demands for freedom of speech. It also highlights the conflict within the opposition about the 'correct' spatial response to the growing despondency with the GDR. The reports about this particular tension between those willing to give up on, and depart, a space others believed could be changed is an example of a newly generated public sphere. Features analysed in section 5.2.3 demonstrate the psychological impact of the Firstspace reality of the Wall on citizens who are already disaffected, even upon those with a strong will to instigate reforms. The range of features examined in section 5.2.4 reveal how all hope of bringing about plurality in the form of a multi-party democracy at the local elections of 1989 is gradually lost. Finally, section 5.2.5, an analysis of *Radio Glasnost*'s reporting on a common topic – the environment – reveals particular insight into the city's shared spaces. Here voices from the anti-establishment in the West are heard as much as those from the East.

5.2.1 Establishing Glasnost

Radio Glasnost makes clear its chief objective in its pilot show, aired on 22 July 1987. Lasting just 25 minutes, the inaugural programme addresses the SED's refusal to embrace Gorbachev's call to reform and promises to compensate for such short-sightedness by offering the opposition a forum, a space with which to achieve Glasnost and within which their voices could be heard. The show presents itself as an 'unbekanntes Flugobjekt […], das von den verschiedenen Initiativen und Gruppen von Ost-Berlin und Umgebung gechartert werden kann'.[71] This reference to the three West Berlin air corridors intends to taunt GDR authorities because unlike the three flight paths open to Allied pilots and planes, the radio airspace 'above' East Berlin is open to the West Berlin listeners, and in turn to the East Berlin listeners. It is, therefore, also a jibe at the western Allied authorities and their own official media channels such as RIAS. It

[71] *Radio Glasnost*, Radio 100, 22 July 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.

reveals a degree of co-determination and desire for autonomy without state interference on both sides of the Wall in what is ultimately still an Allied-controlled, and censored Berlin.

This first show sets a confrontational and provocative, even mocking tone of voice that can be detected in all 28 programmes aired between 1987 and 1989. This tone is adopted primarily by presenter Ilona Marenbach, but can sometimes also be heard in the unnamed voices of the opposition. Here in the first radio 'feature'[72] from the East, an anonymous male voice charges the SED with arrogance, declaring in an ironic tone; 'wir sind den Russen weit voraus. Das, was sie wollen, fand bei uns schon vor zwanzig Jahren statt'[73] and suggests the SED sees Gorbachev as inferior: 'Die Ideologie wird wieder zur Wirklichkeit erklärt und die sozialistische Demokratie auf DDR-Art ist die beste der Welt'.[74] Marenbach adds salt to the wounds with her deliberately condescending 'outro' for the piece: 'Im ersten Teil des Beitrages kreisten wir über den verunsicherten Bürokraten im Osten, die nicht so genau wissen, wie sie auf Gorbatschows Initiativen reagieren sollen.'[75] The second item, again rendered by an anonymous male voice, wastes no time in registering dissatisfaction with the GDR's ailing health system and criticising the authorities' governing of it: 'Da bekommen die Ärzte zum Beispiel Auflagen über die zu verschreibenden Krankheitstage im Monat. Wer mit Durchfall und Erbrechen am Ende des Monats kommt, hat eben Pech. Nach spätestens drei Tagen hat er wieder fit zu sein.'[76] The unnamed critic uses the opportunity provided by *Radio Glasnost* to speak plainly and voice his anger with the system:

> Der Krankenstand muß gesenkt werden, koste es, was es wolle. Nach den Ursachen für das Ansteigen wird nicht gesucht, krankmachende Umwelt und Arbeitsbedingungen als solche anzuerkennen, würde an Stellen kratzen, die tabu sind. Also wird, wie immer, alles auf die Bevölkerung abgewälzt. Man wird als faul, verantwortungslos angesehen und einer ungesunden Lebensweise verdächtigt.'[77]

[72] This 'feature' is more of a monologue in format.
[73] *Radio Glasnost*, Radio 100, 22 July 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.

The third audio contribution, again spoken by an anonymous male voice, details with a hint of envy the Glasnost reforms underway in the Soviet Union, listing newly released films and publications about previously censored topics such as Chernobyl and Afghanistan. The speaker speculates 'Was würden die Jugendlichen hier sagen, wenn sie könnten? Was fragen? Verschwiegen wird viel, besonders was unsere Vergangenheit betrifft.'[78] He bemoans an Orwellian 'ignorance is strength' approach in the GDR: 'Die Urteilsfähigkeit gehört nicht zu den Eigenschaften, die den Jugendlichen anerzogen werden soll.'[79] The Soviet sphere under Gorbachev is held as a viable alternative here, spoken of almost like a promised land. We are reminded of the show's collaborative nature and its contrasting voices with wildly differing backgrounds when West Berlin presenter Marenbach refers to this piece as 'einen Überblick über die Vergangenheitsbewältigung in der jüngeren DDR-Geschichte'.[80] Marenbach's well-meaning sarcasm suggests she views the West as more advanced in how it has dealt with the National Socialist past, rendering her voice a touch superior.

The show's final piece is a report on police harassment at this year's Mayday parade in East Berlin. The inclusion of this piece is both remarkable and powerful in the light of West Berlin's own Mayday of the same year. The piece from the East describes how two youths carrying a banner with the words *Glasnost* and *Perestroika* are removed from the official throng and arrested. But it also reports how they are released a couple of hours later and are able to re-join the official parade. The anonymous reporter asks whether this is 'ein Zeichen der Verunsicherung der Oberen',[81] a comment intended to provoke and undermine the authorities who – as the Stasi files testify – had tuned in to hear the first show. This last piece is, quite possibly, intended for West Berlin listeners as much as for those in the East. It offers the former a mirror with which to reflect upon their situation. Mayday in West Berlin in 1987 was considerably more disruptive and violent than the same day on the other side of the Wall if the above report is accurate. That morning, West Berlin police raided the office of the 'Volkszählungsboykott-Büro' in Kreuzberg – a left-wing initiative opposed to the census. Officers confiscated flyers and posters campaigning

[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.

against the census. The raid sparked violent clashes between police and attendees of the Mayday festivities at Lausitzer Platz. Police barricades were erected, officer numbers were increased from 250 to 900 and arson and looting ensued, resulting in 400 injuries and 53 arrests.[82] By reporting solely on what happened in Eastern Firstspace on 1 May 1987, the show marks differences between East and West rather than creating unity in a city celebrating its 750th anniversary that year. Although the events in West Berlin were shocking, *Radio Glasnost* here and in subsequent programmes testifies that raids and brutal crackdowns similar to the raids that ignited these riots in the West are an everyday occurrence in the GDR, only its citizens do not have the freedom to fight back in the manner of West Berlin citizens.

Marenbach ends the pilot show with the charter plane metaphor: 'Wir sind soeben in West-Berlin gelandet. Wir bedanken uns dafür, daß Sie heute mit *Radio Glasnost* geflogen sind, und würden uns freuen, Sie auch auf unserem nächsten Flug begrüßen zu dürfen. Wir bemühen uns, mit Ihrer Mithilfe *Radio Glasnost* regelmäßig einmal monatlich in die Luft gehen zu lassen.'[83] The metaphor makes plain the nature of communication *Radio Glasnost* wishes to foster. West Berlin provides the technical equipment and East Berlin makes use of it, sending dispatches back to Berlin 'aus der DDR für die DDR'. Roland Jahn remembers today the excitement he felt the first time they went on air:

> Das war schon sehr aufregend, das erste Mal als Ilona Marenbach verkündete, '*Radio Glasnost* – außer Kontrolle' und dann ging es los. Es war das, was ich mir immer gewünscht habe, die Opposition der DDR hat eine Stimme im Rundfunk und strahlt über Ost-Berlin.[84]

Dieter Rulff explained at the time that *Radio Glasnost* strives to enable an internal discussion process within the GDR. [85] As we shall see in the following analyses, this was not always the case, particularly concerning issues of shared space, such as the environment. *Radio Glasnost* aimed to provide a space in which GDR citizens may voice their anger, 'in die Luft gehen', but from time to

[82] Andreas Conrad, '1. Mai 1987 Nacht der Flammen in Kreuzberg', *Der Tagesspiegel,* 30 April 2012.
[83] *Radio Glasnost*, Radio 100, 22 July 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[84] Roland Jahn in interview with the author (see appendix I).
[85] *Radio Glasnost*, Radio 100, 22 July 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.

time it was also a sounding ground for the West via the voice of Ilona Marenbach.

In the months following the pilot programme, *Radio Glasnost* established itself and made its intentions clearer with each show. For instance, the first official show – aired on 31 August 1987 – opens in a much more nonchalant manner. Marenbach wishes good evening to listeners in all Berlin districts and lists them one by one, both East and West, a bold assertion of 'their' space. Although she explains they wish to bring reports to the East from the East, Marenbach has to justify in the show from October 1987 why they are not producing the reports themselves:

> Wir haben in *Radio Glasnost* ein Angebot die unkontrollierte DDR-Öffentlichkeit machen zu wollen. Es wird zum Teil von uns erwartet, daß wir auch selbst über die DDR berichten. Das würde ich ja gerne, ist aber so schnell nicht zu leisten. Ich würde es mir ehrlich gesagt auch gar nicht zutrauen, die DDR-Entwicklung zu bewerten.[86]

By the seventh month on air, resonance about the programme had caused a significant stir within the GDR and Western press, as detailed in the third section of this chapter. Once established, a typical show consisted of various dispatches sent for broadcasting from the GDR, a listings section called Glasnost-Splitter informing dissident groups, but also the Stasi, about meetings and demonstrations, and a great deal of underground punk and political ballads from the East, as well as some from the West. The music was often chosen to reflect the evening's issues and – as Roland Jahn remembers – 'mit der Musik den Nerv des Ostens treffen',[87] meaning both the listeners and the Stasi. The features, produced by political activists without any journalistic, let alone broadcast experience were – as detailed above – often amateurish, overly long and of poor quality. For this reason, the formats vary only very slightly. The most common form is a monologue without 'atmos' or actuality, somewhat difficult for Western ears not used to the long-winded, studio-produced monophonic political commentaries more typical of some GDR radio, such as the examples analysed in chapters two and three. There is the occasional interview which, because it is unscripted, adds life to the show and just one example of a full feature, aired in June 1989, reporting on the demonstrations in

[86] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 26 October 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[87] Roland Jahn in interview with the author (see appendix I).

front of the Chinese embassy following the massacre of protesters at Tiananmen Square in Beijing earlier that month. The recording of a lively Q&A session at a *Kirchentag* in West Berlin once again illustrates that the sometimes monotonous production style of *Radio Glasnost* features was a result of production conditions, rather than a result of any lack in creativity or imagination. The amateur hue of *Radio Glasnost* voices lent an authentic and urgent quality to the show that nevertheless benefited greatly from Marenbach's sharp-witted remarks and gentle sarcasm, aimed as much against the Western authorities as against those in the GDR.

Typically the show covered current affairs, specifically those issues both the Eastern and the Western press neglected to report, or those they distorted. These include reports on Stasi raids of opposition group offices such as those of the Umweltbibliothek, news of violence and arrests at demonstrations, a variety of environmental concerns and thorough reporting of the falsification of results in the *Kommunalwahlen* of May 1989. The show also gives *Gegenkultur* a platform airing reports on independent music labels, punk, Samizdat, and interviews with exile writers such as Jürgen Fuchs.[88] Social issues are touched upon, including military service, the rise of neo-Nazi sentiment, abortion and gay life in the GDR.

5.2.2 Reclaiming Space and Voice

The struggle for the right of assembly and freedom of speech is particularly apparent in the January 1988 edition of *Radio Glasnost*. They dedicate the entire show to the arrests of demonstrators at the annual march commemorating the murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The programme opens with a passage from a public address given at the march by Egon Krenz, Politbüro member and deputy chairman of the Council of State: 'Wir bekennen uns mit Stolz zu ihrem revolutionären Erbe. Dem Karl Liebknecht haben wir es geschworen, der Rosa Luxemburg reichen wir die Hand.'[89] *Radio Glasnost* producers juxtapose Krenz's words honouring Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg with those of Rosa Luxemburg, as cited on a demonstrator's

[88] The writer Jürgen Fuchs was arrested for protesting against the forced expatriation of Wolf Biermann in 1976 and imprisoned for nine months at Berlin Hohenschönhausen. In 1977 he was released and deported to West Berlin where he wrote a protocol of his time in the Stasi prison. See Jürgen Fuchs, *Vernehmungsprotokolle* (Berlin: Jaron, 2009). Fuchs died aged 48 in 1999 from a rare form of leukemia; Fuchs believed his cancer was caused by radiation to which the Stasi deliberately exposed him.

[89] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 25 January 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.

banner: 'Freiheit ist immer nur Freiheit des Andersdenkenden.' Presenter Ilona Marenbach reveals the hypocrisy of the officials' reactions to this expression of Rosa Luxemburg's notion of freedom: 'Die Offiziellen empfanden es als Geschmacklosigkeit, daß sie mit eigenen Transparenten auftreten wollten, um das Vermächtnis der deutschen Kommunisten zu gedenken [sic]'.[90] Detailing the 100 arrests that ensued, Marenbach alludes to the state resorting to methods reminiscent of the National Socialist era: 'Man sah in diesem harten staatlichen Vorgehen eine neue, oder wie einige es formulierten, ganz alte Qualität.'[91]

Aired only a week after the march, various opposition voices are able to make use of the programme to issue appeals of solidarity and appeals to release those demonstrators still in custody. One of these voices is that of the Umweltbibliothek, who issue a plea in the form of a statement, re-read by a member of the western production team: 'Wir protestieren gegen die Verhaftung unserer Mitarbeiter […]. Wir bitten alle, die mit uns in der Empörung über das neuerliche Vorgehen der Behörden übereinstimmen, um ihre Hilfe. Hier werden Weichen für die Innenpolitik der DDR in den nächsten Jahren gestellt. Wenn Ihr uns helft, helft Ihr Euch selbst.'[92] Another voice aired is that of the church, as indicated by the large, hollow acoustic of Prenzlauer Berg's Gethsemanekirche, declaring its willingness to step in and speak for those still in custody. This voice is amplified by that of the Protestant Bishop of Berlin and Brandenburg, Dr. Forck who, in a read-out written statement, demands the release of those arrested and urges state authorities to engage in dialogue with the church and to listen to its voice in order to address 'verschiedener Meinungen in der Gesellschaft und um die Problematik von Ausbürgerungsanträgen grundsätzlich und konkret fortzusetzen.'[93]

The disparity between the SED's interpretation of the communist legacy of Liebknecht and Luxemburg and that of the opposition is not the only conflict reported. As the programme outlines, many of the roughly one hundred demonstrators arrested at the march had previously applied to leave the GDR, and as a result of their arrests on 17 January, many are deported to the West. Marenbach – forgetting for a moment her mantra about adopting a non-editorial

[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 25 January 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[93] Ibid.

stance – addresses the uncomfortable fact that some citizens wish to leave the GDR rather than reform it: 'Wie nun mit den Ausreisewilligen umzugehen ist, ist jedoch nicht nur ein Problem staatlicher Stellen. Auch für die Gruppen der Friedens-, Umwelt- und Menschenrechtsbewegung ist es nicht leicht, ein klares Verhältnis zu ihnen zu formulieren.'[94] Tackling the heart of the matter and, espousing an editorial slant serving the interests of balance, she gives the microphone to a group called 'Staatsbürgerrechte', who represent those accused of attending the demonstration simply to get themselves arrested with the hope of being sent West.

In a poorly recorded, read-out statement, an unnamed representative of the group 'Staatsbürgerrechte' puts forth their aims: 'Es ist deutlich. Ihr Ziel ist "weg"! Wechsel des Wohnsitzes in die BRD! […] Die 36 inhaftierten Antragssteller sprechen in gewissem Sinne für ca. 80.000 Menschen, und das ist eine gesamtgesellschaftliche Angelegenheit.'[95] The spokesperson is nervous which is detectable from his excessive swallowing, frequent mispronunciation of words and an almost excruciatingly slow tempo. *Radio Glasnost* makes clear that the aims of this particular opposition group are questionable to other opposition groups because of the betrayal felt by those dissidents intent on staying to bring about reform. Following the statement issued on behalf of those wishing to leave the GDR, Marenbach plays edited highlights from a discussion recorded a few days before the show's live broadcast. The participants are members of various 'Basisgruppen', and the first distinction they make between themselves and the group 'Staatsbürgerrechte' is that the latter is not a Church-affiliated group as is almost standard among the opposition, but a group that functions 'in Eigenverantwortlichkeit.'[96] They make a firm distinction between those who protested to achieve a form of Socialism 'im Sinne von Rosa Luxemburg' and those protesting with an 'Ausreiseantrag schon in der Tasche'. An anonymous male voice blames the non-Church groups for the 'Überreaktion' of the police and Stasi on the day of the Liebknecht-Luxemburg march, stating that the authorities are not used to organised criticism coming from outside the church. A female speaker, also anonymous, displays empathy towards the concerns of the *Ausreisewilligen*, reminding the round that the issue of fleeing

[94] Ibid.
[95] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 25 January 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[96] Ibid.

to the West has become a taboo subject and ought to be discussed thoroughly and objectively. Awarded the last word by the producer who edited the tape, the same female speaker changes her tune and expresses resentment towards those who would rather leave than reform, particularly considering the difficulties she and her fellow reformers face at work for their political engagement: 'Das ist also für mich jetzt ein sehr schwieriges Problem. […] Und das möchte ich nicht riskieren für jemand, der bereit ist, das Land zu verlassen.'[97] She implies their leaving as a lack of gratitude for the efforts made by grass-roots organisations to foster change. Jahn remembers how *Radio Glasnost*'s insistence and promise to broadcast everything they received from the many-voiced opposition was not necessarily welcomed by all, despite their common struggle for freedom of speech:

> Es war ja auch wichtig, dass nicht nur einzelne Meinungen gesendet werden. Es war ja wichtig, daß die Pluralität gewahrt wird. Das war auch nicht immer einfach, weil in der DDR-Opposition es auch Streit gab. Es gab Leute, die gar nicht gut fanden, daß bestimmte Blickwinkel dann in die Sendung gingen, und am liebsten hätten manche nur ihre Meinung gesendet. Aber das war etwas, was gerade ich auch in West-Berlin sehr zu schätzen gewusst habe, den Pluralismus in der Pressefreiheit, die Vielfalt der Meinung. Deswegen habe ich das immer sehr hoch gehalten und habe es gut gefunden, wenn alle Meinungen in der Sendung zu Wort kamen.[98]

This is not the sole occasion upon which *Radio Glasnost* addresses the friction between reformers and deserters, but during this show the issue is put to rest in order to return to more pressing matters. Marenbach reminds the listener that although many of those arrested the previous week have since been released – both into the West and within the borders of the GDR – some remain in custody, including songwriter Stefan Krawczyk and, as of that morning, his wife Freya Klier.[99] Klier had recorded an appeal for the release of her husband and sent the tape to the *Radio Glasnost* studios in Schöneberg just before her own

[97] Ibid.
[98] Roland Jahn in interview with the author (see appendix I).
[99] Freya Klier, born 1950 in Dresden, is an author and film director. Klier was given a 16-month prison sentence in 1968 after she was caught trying to escape the GDR. Together with her husband Stephan Krawczyk, Klier was an active member of the GDR opposition. Because of her involvement with the opposition, she was prevented from practicing her profession and in 1988 she was eventually exiled to the West following her arrest.

arrest. Like many of the audio contributions sent to and aired by *Radio Glasnost*, Klier's appeal is read-out rather than spoken as a 'piece' of radio. Very few of the voices aired on *Radio Glasnost* attempted to read their scripts as if they were unscripted, as a professional radio voice would do. This is one of the factors that distinguish their voices from the other radio voices. But in this instance, Klier's 'reading' is deliberate. She signs off with her name and profession, as if she were signing a written petition or an *Eingabe*, as if the written form has more weight. Klier argues that her husband, whose artistic career has been prevented by a *Berufsverbot* by GDR authorities since 1985, attended the march to honour Rosa Luxemburg by following her example and – holding a banner with the words 'Gegen Berufsverbot in der DDR' – to warn his fellow citizens of the 'gesellschaftliche Ungerechtigkeit […] auf dem Weg zu einer sozialistischen Gesellschaft'.[100] Klier appeals directly to artists in the Federal Republic, urging them not to perform in the Democratic Republic until the Stasi have released Krawczyk. Marenbach reports that a group of West German artists including Rio Reiser, Barbara Sukowa and Margarethe von Trotta have already written an open letter to Erich Honecker arguing that he – and the other detainees from various grass-roots groups – are merely following the tradition of Rosa Luxemburg at the annual, official march held in her memory.

In appealing to West German artists to boycott the GDR, Klier creates another forbidden space for her fellow citizens. *Radio Glasnost*, in contrast, opens up multiple spaces of debate by airing the conflicting voices of the opposition and makes quite clear the ethics of the spatial response faced by the opposition in asking whether it is better to stay and change from within or to give up on the GDR entirely and leave. Once those members of the opposition leave, *Radio Glasnost* sees no need to grant those voices airtime. For instance, in their February show a month later, *Radio Glasnost* airs a brief update reporting that, following the 17 January arrests, most of those detained have been deported to West Germany, including Krawczyk and Klier. Exercising the editorial rights they vowed to relinquish, Marenbach declares that *Radio Glasnost* does not intend to cover this story any further: 'Es gibt genügend Fernseh- und Radiomacher, auch bei uns bei Radio 100, die sich gerade auf

[100] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 25 January 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost', Freya Klier.

prominente Ausgewiesene […] gestürzt haben.'[101] This decision is a reminder of why *Radio Glasnost* exists, to serve as a real alternative to the mainstream media on both sides of the border. Instead, the programme rounds up the latest reactions to the display of state repression at the January demonstration by airing a lengthy statement from the group 'Kirche von Unten' questioning the readiness and significance of church leaders to engage in dialogue with the SED authorities: 'Vertreter der Kirchenleitungen [führten] Verhandlungen und Gespräche über deren Inhalt und Absichten sie weder die Öffentlichkeit noch uns informierten. Wir protestieren gegen diese undurchsichtige und halbherzige Handlungsweise.'[102] They also object wildly to the Church's willingness to help citizens wishing to flee the GDR:

> Wir halten eine Beratungsstelle für Ausreisewillige zumindest zu diesem Zeitpunkt für eine Fehlentscheidung. Wir distanzieren uns von denen, die mit diesem Land längst gebrochen haben und egoistisch ihre eigene Ausreise betreiben wollen. […] Wir protestieren dagegen, daß damit Ausreisewilligen in der Kirche ein Dach angeboten wird, wir hingegen verdächtigt werden, unter dem Dach der Kirche Zuflucht zu suchen.[103]

The inner conflict about the ethical spatial response – to stay or to leave – continues as the Kirche von Unten objects that church space is being offered to those wishing to go west. Reproduced by the *Radio Glasnost* production team in their studios as a read-out statement, the message loses the impact it would have had, had the reading been original, but the strong words more than make up for it and it is quite clear that the use of a studio speaker is necessary on this occasion. The conflict between opposition groups and the 'Ausreisewilligen' shows no sign of relenting, and to distinguish themselves from other critics of the system, the Kirche von Unten make it quite clear that they are neither dissidents nor are they treasonous in their attempts to change the GDR from within, to open it up and develop a culture of political dialogue and political responsibility.[104] Their sentiments suggest that those willing to give up on and leave the GDR not only abandon a space in which the reformers see the potential for change, but that they actually reduce the opening sphere of Glasnost.

---

[101] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 29 February 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost', Ilona Marenbach.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid., Kiche von Unten.
[104] Ibid.

The desire to exercise the right of assembly – or to claim public space – and the right to free speech – to make their voices heard – intensifies considerably by the 70th anniversary of the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg a year later. This year, it is not just a few banners that cause clashes with the authorities, but a separate, silent march organised by opposition groups in Leipzig. *Radio Glasnost* airs the appeal made by the demonstration organisers, not in Leipzig but at a solidarity event in Berlin. Again, the purpose of the alternative march is to remind people that Liebknecht and Luxemburg fought for 'ein unbehindertes Vereins- und Versammlungsleben, für eine freie, ungehemmte Presse, für allgemeine Wahlen und den freien Meinungskampf der Menschen.'[105] Here the Berlin allies of the Leipzig protesters make clear the intention to march in silence in order to commemorate the Socialism advocated by Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Marching silently also illustrates how space is needed before voices can be heard; the protesters attempt to physically claim space from which to speak up. Reporting the numbers of those arrested in the run-up to the 'Schweigemarsch' as well as on the day in Leipzig, Marenbach's indignant tone of voice communicates the dismal irony that a group who give up their voice by observing a silence to pay tribute to the state's Socialist pioneers is so objectionable to the State's security forces. In this instance, power is gained by withholding one's voice.

Fears that the ongoing struggle for space and voice may end in bloodshed is evident in *Radio Glasnost*'s reporting on the reactions in East Berlin to the SED's stance towards the Tiananmen Square massacre of June 1989, when the *Volkskammer* announced its support for the Chinese leaders. *Radio Glasnost*'s show in the same month addresses the disbelief and concern among the opposition groups for what this support might mean for their own peaceful demonstrations against the blatant falsification of GDR local election results on 7 May 1989, repeated on the seventh day of every subsequent month. It asks whether they too were they at risk and whether the GDR might resort to the brutality displayed by Chinese leaders in Beijing. In one of their most varied and lively programmes in which more voices are heard than in any other show, *Radio Glasnost* juxtaposes official SED and media responses with

[105] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 30 January 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.

those of opposition groups, GDR exiles in West Berlin and West Berliners. The result is a powerful, engaging and varied show that encapsulates more of the spaces available to Radio 100 and hints at the wider potential of *Radio Glasnost*, were the production conditions to match production values.

In an extended introduction to June's show, Ilona Marenbach evaluates the GDR television coverage of the events at Tiananmen Square. Adopting her habitual sarcastic tone, Marenbach demonstrates that neither she nor her listeners take SED propaganda at face value, a charge Esther von Richthofen makes against some scholars of GDR history.[106] Referring to the highly selective and one-sided coverage of the demonstrations in Beijing broadcast by GDR television, Marenbach declares derisively that – thanks to state media coverage – millions of GDR television viewers now know what really happened at Tiananmen Square. Her sarcasm questions whether there really are millions of GDR television viewers, implying that most switch to Western broadcasters, and reveals that she does not underestimate her own audience, at least not on the Eastern side of the Wall. Her reminder that the GDR is not only one of the few states in the international arena not to condemn the actions of the Chinese, but that it has morally justified them is plausibly aimed at those west of the Wall just in case they are not up-to-date with GDR current affairs. Marenbach reports that many members of opposition groups are protesting against the massacre and 'gegen die Art der Berichterstattung in den DDR-Medien',[107] a media response that distances the two Germanys further from one another considering the international outcry to Beijing at the time. She reports that fifty demonstrators attempt to approach the Chinese embassy in Pankow, but are prevented from reaching it by policemen, resulting instead in arrests and injuries. Here, the right to assembly seems a particularly distant prospect.

The show's first non-studio produced item is a rare example of a genuine, fully-fledged feature on *Radio Glasnost*. It starts with a description of a church service held by the Kirche von Unten[108] at the Elisabethkirche in Mitte to mark the incidents in China and opens with a considered, vividly rendered passage spoken in true reporter style:

---

[106] See von Richthofen, *Bringing Culture to the Masses,* 2009, p. 13.
[107] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 27 June 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[108] The name of the group – Kirche von Unten – makes clear their grass-roots position, also refered to by Roland Jahn as 'Glasnost von Unten'.

> Kerzen, weiße Nelken, Trauer und ein Transparent mit dem chinesischen Schriftzeichen für Demokratie schmückten am Freitag Abend die Räume der Kirche von Unten. Etwa einhundert Menschen haben sich versammelt, um gegen die unmenschliche Abrechnung der chinesischen Regierung mit ihrem eigenen Volk zu protestieren.[109]

The unnamed male speaker makes observations and comments characteristic of a seasoned reporter, and is a rare example of a truly journalistic voice among those of the activists usually heard on *Radio Glasnost*. Instead of issuing a political statement written for the eye rather than the ear, he restricts himself to rendering an account of the service and describing the congregation's reactions when a letter from the Chinese Central Committee as published in the party-loyal newspaper *Neues Deutschland* is read out in church. The letter overtly denies any bloodshed: 'Manche Zuhörer [halten sich] die Hände vors Gesicht.'[110] The piece then features another unnamed voice, introduced as a member of the audience present at the same Kirche von Unten church meeting. This voice is an example of actuality, it does not utter the objective observations of the reporter, but it represents a specific viewpoint, one that reveals shock: 'Ihre Gesichter, die uns über das Pekinger Fernsehen erreichen, sind zerschlagen und ihre Körper gedemütigt.'[111] Criticism of the SED's support of the Chinese authorities is substantiated with reference to the past: 'Aus unseren unheilvollen deutschen Erfahrungen und aus unserer Verantwortung für Auschwitz für das Aufleben barbarischen Mittelalters vor noch nicht langer Zeit in unserem eigenen Land dürfen wir solche Gräueltaten nicht hinnehmen.'[112] The speaker's deliberate reference to ambiguous, shared space – 'unser eigenes Land' and 'unsere deutschen Erfahrungen' – reveals the opposition's dismay at the SED's willingness to capitalise upon the news from China for their own political means.

The feature is not without some production difficulties, and Marenbach has to fill in for the reporter, who for unknown reasons is not heard again. In his place, she briefly introduces a selection of *vox populi* conducted outside the church after the solidarity event is over. The closer proximity of these voices to the microphone, and their more intimate, conversational language distinguishes

[109] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 27 June 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.

their voices from the previous one, who was addressing a group and issuing a statement. Three male voices describe, in Berliner dialect more ubiquitous in the East at the time, their attempt to protest in front of the Chinese embassy the previous day. Much is based on hearsay and, because the *vox* have not been edited, a large proportion of what they have to say is somewhat rambling, but the voices are authentic; unconsidered reactions are just as valid in Glasnost terms as those who recite considered positions. One voice describes how a police officer taunts him by saying he wishes that capital punishment were still legal in the GDR: 'Er fand das also ganz geil, daß in China die Todesstrafe halt "in" ist, und das ist eine Maßnahme, die also notwendig ist, um eine gewisse Sache an die Spitze zu nehmen.'[113] The *vox populi* speakers' lack of practice in speaking into a microphone, typical of anybody asked for a man-on-the-street opinion, can be heard when they sigh too heavily into the microphone, but these 'blemished' production details accord *Radio Glasnost* some of the energy often missing in the delivery of its other reports. Marenbach closes the feature with a musical interlude from the band 'Herbst in Peking' who, just a few days previously, have had their licence revoked for holding a concert in solidarity with the students shot at Tiananmen Square and for daring to hold a minute's silence. Once again, *Radio Glasnost* makes clear the authorities' objection to silence as well as to organised opposition voices.

Like the squares of more recent times such as Tahrir Square during Egypt's Arab Spring of 2011 or the Maidan in Ukraine during the winter of 2013 and 2014, Tiananmen Square represents a space of resistance, albeit brief and quickly crushed by the Chinese authorities. The GDR opposition's response to Tiananmen and to their government's flat acceptance of the Chinese authorities' actions – as broadcast by *Radio Glasnost* and the West German press – is to strive harder for Glasnost, for their own public sphere. By the November of 1989, the opposition will claim their agora in Firstspace terms when they congregate and demonstrate on a different square, Alexanderplatz. For the time being, they achieve a significant public sphere only in broadcasting terms. Marenbach's re-broadcasting of the GDR television news coverage of the Beijing demonstrations frames the official SED message in a different broadcasting space, one that undermines its intended meaning. The rare variety of voices in the feature that follows widens *Radio Glasnost*'s

[113] Ibid.

broadcasting space rendering it all the more resonant. The show ends with a discussion about the SED's official line on China which proffers a space that is a more reciprocal and – because it is a rare example of an item produced in the West – a freer, more open domain in which audience opinions are voiced much more candidly than when they hail from the non-existent, or at best highly compromised, public spheres of the East.

With the editorial caveat 'ein kleiner Auschnitt ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit',[114] *Radio Glasnost* airs excerpts from a panel discussion at the West Berlin *Kirchentag*, a talk held primarily between GDR exiles and another GDR attendee temporarily in West Berlin for the event, Wolfgang Kliem from the Akademie der Gesellschaftswissenschaften – an institute of the SED's Central Committee. Asked by a Dutch member of the audience why the GDR, together with Cuba and Vietnam, condone the Chinese authorities' actions, Kliem rejects the 'Medienrummel' of the West and questions the veracity of the western reports of a massacre:

> Wenn dieses Massaker stattgefunden hat, von dem Sie ständig sprechen, von dem hier ständig gesprochen wird, natürlich verurteile ich ein Massaker. Selbstverständlich. Was wollen Sie von mir? Ich bestreite bloß die Tatsache, daß es so gewesen ist. […] Was bestreite ich? Hören Sie mal. Ich bin als Kommunist und Sozialist gegen Massaker.[115]

Kliem is also put to test by a number of members of the opposition, now GDR exiles. We hear an unusually frank and uncontrolled discussion between GDR citizens on account of the democratic Firstspace in which it is taking place. *Radio Glasnost*'s motto 'von der DDR für die DDR' still applies to this broadcast item because, as Marenbach points out, the exiles in the audience were sent to the West involuntarily. It is unclear, however, whether they are aware of the discussion being recorded for broadcast purposes. Kliem insists the GDR fosters an open culture of political dialogue and public debate in an apparently classless society: 'Es findet bei uns Dialog statt. Oben, in der Mitte, unten, zwischen den Menschen, auf die verschiedensten Art und Weisen.'[116] He also firmly delineates the limits of that open culture: 'Wo Gesetze des Staates überschritten werden, greift die Staatsmacht ein. Wo die Staatsmacht eingreift

[114] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 26 June 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.

bei uns, greift sie mit außerordentlicher Zurückhaltung ein.'[117] As we hear, audience reactions to such statements trigger audible outrage and the master of ceremonies struggles to keep order who, becoming increasingly more agitated, resorts to shouting short-temperedly at the audience: 'Also das ist keine Möglichkeit mit Zwischenrufen!'[118] Kliem, on the other hand, shows no sign of being ruffled by the audience's questions, constantly adapting his answers to serve the system. His incredulous questioning of the Beijing massacre is given a musical response by Marenbach who immediately follows the discussion with a record with the lyrics 'I am ignorant. I live in a world of fantasy. I am ignorant.'

5.2.3 Firstspace Realities: the Continued Existence of the Wall

Despite the antagonism between those wishing to stay to fight for reform and those wanting to leave the GDR altogether, the restrictions on travel beyond the Soviet bloc were a major factor in contributing to the widespread malaise in the German Democratic Republic. In a number of shows members of grass-roots groups as well as *Radio Glasnost* producers confront the issue of the Wall, a taboo otherwise ignored or exploited for propaganda: 'Die Westmedien präsentieren fast täglich die absurdesten Fluchtgeschichten, die Ostmedien feiern den antiimperialistischen Schutzwall.'[119] The August 1988 show is almost entirely dedicated to the effects of the Wall on GDR society. None of the contributions, however, are played from tapes sent over the border to the *Radio Glasnost* studios. Instead, the show comprises a form of audio samizdat; texts from independent, underground publications as well as communiqués from various grass-roots groups are read out by a Radio 100 voice, pre-produced in the Schöneberg studio. The glaring lack of original tapes and the grain of original voices for this subject suggests a possible reluctance to enter into a debate possible within the public space provided by *Radio Glasnost*. The subject of the Wall draws attention to the continuing and deepening divisions between citizens who wish to stay and those who wish to leave. To compensate, the *Radio Glasnost* producers compile a show of recited texts that, when juxtaposed, reveal the common concerns about the Wall shared by GDR citizens. By broadcasting material based entirely on samizdat texts rather

[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.
[119] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 29 August 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.

than on tapes sent specifically to the studio, the voices of *Radio Glasnost*'s West Berlin editors are certainly more audible than usual, but they remain faithful to the texts of the underground publications and their read-out contributions imitate the style of the tapes they ordinarily receive. In fact, there is so little aesthetic difference between the taped and read-out studio produced texts, that the West Berlin production team simulate an Eastern voice that is almost authentic, even if a degree of expressive meaning is lost in reading rather than hearing a voice.

The first piece of audio samizdat is a psychiatrist's evaluation of the effects of the Wall. Originally published as a written article in the East Berlin samizdat publication *Aufrisse*, psychiatrist Ludwig Trees argues (via a proxy voice) that his fellow GDR citizens are guilty of denying the realities of the Wall's existence and that their denial further perpetuates exclusion and segregation among and between citizens in the same predicament. He condemns the commonly held view among opposition groups that 'der Wunsch, die DDR zu verlassen, unmoralisch sei'[120] and likens their stance to how society typically views a psychopath. He appeals for more tolerance warning that: 'Wenn Ausreisen nicht erlaubt oder diskriminiert wird, ist auch die Würde und Freiheit der Hierbleibenden angetastet.'[121] Proffering insight from his profession, Trees asserts that GDR citizens know the facts about the Wall – 'die Abgrenzung [macht] uns kaputt' – but that society, by denying reality, has become accustomed to it: 'Die Anpassung war und ist erstaunlich.'[122] He questions why society still flatly accepts the Wall: 'Wir fanden das alles normal. Wir ließen uns die Westkontakte verbieten und unterschrieben gehorsam den Verzicht.'[123] Finding further fault with the opposition groups' apparent inertia on the subject of freedom to travel – 'Wir stellten keine Reiseanträge und forderten nichts mehr ein. Wir nahmen Reiseerleichterungen als großzügige Geschenke dankbar hin'[124] – Trees attempts to shake up the reform-minded readers of *Aufrisse* by suggesting they are actually supporting the existence of the Wall by refusing to support those who apply to leave.

Trees' analysis of the effects of the Berlin Wall on the GDR goes deeper than the issue of reform versus departure. He explores the phenomenon 'innere

[120] Ibid., Ludwig Trees.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.

Abgrenzung' and draws attention to the 'Grenze zwischen Bevölkerung und Staat' defined by mistrust of each other, and the inner divisions within each individual, resulting in resignation. But, he too believes that Gorbachev's visionary measures can do a great deal to break down these barriers: 'Das sind staatliche Maßnahmen zur Überwindung der inneren Abgrenzung' and he is convinced that not only the GDR opposition groups, but even functionaries of the state feel the divide, are disillusioned with it and desire change, even if they do not say so openly.

In the interests of balance, *Radio Glasnost* producers also read a comment piece originally published by the Umweltbibliothek in one of their *Umweltblätter*. Pink Floyd's *The Wall* is chosen for this show's musical interludes, much needed to break up the aesthetically similar and lengthy recitations of written texts. Without the musical respite, the show could be mistaken as having only one voice in addition to the host's voice because there is little variation in the grain and tone in production style. Marenbach warns that as long as the demands of the initiative 'Absage an Praxis und Prinzip der Abgrenzung' are ignored, [125] desperate citizens will continue to apply to leave the GDR, an issue that, according to Marenbach, remains particularly contentious for the members of the Umweltbibliothek. Here, their read-out statement demonstrates the kind of denial Ludwig Trees details in his piece. The Umweltbibliothek's well-intended but misconceived defence of the GDR borders on the propaganda more commonly found in *Neues Deutschland*:

> Staatssicherheitsdienst hin, Obst- und Gemüseversorgung her – es muß doch einmal gesagt werden, daß die DDR zwar nicht die vollkommenste aller Welten ist, […] und die Mitbestimmungs- und Menschenrechte zwar nicht garantiert sind, aber bei weitem nicht so brutal mit den Füßen getreten wird, wie in den bekannten Hinterhofdiktaturen der USA.[126]

Marenbach reports that the Umweltbibliothek believes that those who give up on the system undermine their fight for more freedom, including the freedom to travel. With their overtly defensive endorsement of the GDR they are, however, in danger of undermining themselves. Marenbach adds that the authors of these 'starke Worte' are rumoured to have softened their position since writing

[125] Founded in May 1987, the group 'Absage an Praxis und Prinzip der Abgrenzung' campaigned for the relaxation of travel restrictions in the GDR. The group worked both within and outside of the many church groups that provided a forum for the opposition.
[126] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 29 August 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.

the piece. They nevertheless offer some rationale for their particularly strong objection to those fleeing West:

> Überall wurden unsere Gruppen nur benutzt, um das begrenzte Ziel der Ausreise zu erreichen. Falls es ins Konzept paßte, verrieten uns die Ausreisewilligen mit Begeisterung an die Behörden. Im Westen angekommen, gaben sie sich vor der Presse als Menschenrechtler oder Mitglieder von Friedens- und Umweltgruppen aus und verhöhnten und usurpierten unseren Namen.[127]

These words are a case in point for the main argument stipulated in the original petition 'Absage an Praxis und Prinzip der Abgrenzung'[128] that by cutting its citizens off from the rest of the world (Abgrenzung) the GDR will only generate distorted perceptions and *Fremdbilder*. Regardless of this petition and the calls to relax travel restrictions, Erich Honecker vowed in a speech on 19 January 1989 that the Wall shall still stand in fifty, even one hundred years time. In their show that same month, *Radio Glasnost* reacts to Honecker's announcement with a selection of *vox populi* and the usual sharp comments from its presenter. Marenbach relies upon mockery to justify playing Honecker's offensive, 'infamous' 100-year vision for the Wall from the previous week, saying 'weil es so schön ist'.[129] Honecker's voice is followed by anonymous, male *vox populi* – some sarcastic, some horrified in tone. One man insists Honecker is right, and that it would be a great shame if nothing remained to mark the history of the 20th century. He ponders whether it would be preferable to leave a few pieces of the Wall or whether it should be preserved in its entirety as a Wagnerian 'Gesamtkunstwerk'. His observation that the Wall is such a solid structure, it won't fall of its own accord within the next 100 years can almost be understood as a challenge. A different, older voice is more sombre in his assessment of Honecker's promise: 'Die Ausdrucksweise erinnert mich wie ein Rückgriff in eine Kiste, welche wir eigentlich schon aufgearbeitet haben sollten. Sie trägt stalinistische Züge'[130] whereas another member of the public, although damning of Honecker's pronouncement – 'der Honecker-Satz ist also als eine Art Bankrotterklärung zu sehen'[131] – views it as a sign of a depressing lack of

[127] Ibid.
[128] See the petition: http://www.ddr89.de/ddr89/vor/appa.html, [accessed 20 November 2013].
[129] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 30 January 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.

imagination in reaction to Gorbachev's calls for reform, suggesting he does not take Honecker seriously. By remaining completely anonymous in *vox populi* form with no explicit reference to political affiliation, age or vocation, the sentiment takes precedence. In lieu of freedom of expression, *vox populi* also allow for plain, forthright speech.[132]

Unsurprisingly, a reaction from another voice – the 'Initiativkreis Absage an Praxis und Prinzip der Abgrenzung' (IAPPA) – is also passed to *Radio Glasnost* for broadcast, albeit on paper rather than on tape. *Radio Glasnost* staff read a letter of protest addressed to Honecker from the IAPPA, in which they explain to the General Secretary of the SED to what extent his fellow citizens are suffering under his current isolationist politics. They attempt to appeal to Honecker with Gorbachev's politics, carefully appearing to show some understanding for why he thinks the Wall is still necessary: 'Glasnost: Das wäre der erste und wichtigste Schritt zur Beseitigung des heute noch wirkenden Grunds für den Fortbestand der Mauer.'[133] They sign off with less diplomacy, stating plainly that they and their children refuse to live the next 50 years with the Wall, let alone 100 years.

The Umweltbibliothek's *Eingabe* – itself a form of voice, albeit coded and contrived – may appear to be a lost cause, but news of 'gesetzlichen Möglichkeiten'[134] in the show's final segment offers a glimmer of hope for the development of a multiparty democracy, even in the shadow of the Wall. Citing from *Neues Deutschland*, Marenbach announces the official invitation to put forth candidates for the upcoming local elections in May 1989 and plays a tape from a collective of opposition groups calling upon listeners to participate and make a difference. To mobilise listeners, they list the concerns they would like to see addressed if opposition candidates are to run: 'die großen Probleme der Versorgung, besonders mit Frischwaren, der Umweltvergiftung, des baulichen Verfalls, der Sozial- und Gesundheitsfürsorge, des Umgangs mit Ausländern, […] Fälle von Behördenwillkür, Korruption und Begünstigung'.[135] Exact details of how to get onto a candidate list are given to listeners. The opposition's appeal aims to make clear that these elections are not like previous ones in which the

[132] This is the European broadcasting standard. It is not the case with public broadcasting in the USA where all sources have to be named.
[133] Ibid.
[134] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 30 January 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[135] Ibid.

result is already set before votes are cast, but that these could mean 'mehr Gerechtigkeit, Freiheit und Menschenwürde in der DDR' – motivation to take part and cast one's vote as an act of 'Verantwortung und Emanzipation'.[136] This show demonstrates how the producers of *Radio Glasnost* tried to be polyphonic even when the voices could not be heard on tape.

5.2.4 'Stimmabgabe': Local Elections and Dashed Hopes

Evidence that the authorities are still listening to *Radio Glasnost* in its second year on air is abundant in the following month's show in February 1989. Marenbach warns that the call to candidature on the last show was of great interest to the authorities, that raids have since taken place, and official guidelines pertaining to the local elections have been drawn up, specifically for those 'die bei uns nichts zu suchen haben'.[137] These SED guidelines offer less guidance than warnings; warnings that voices will be gagged. Marenbach enlightens listeners with a passage attacking *Radio Glasnost* for interfering with the democratic process:

> Wir kennen die politischen Gegener des Sozialismus gut, und wissen, daß sie nichts unversucht lassen, um über die elekronischen Medien ihren geistigen Giftmüll in die DDR zu transportieren mit scheinheiligen Ratschlägen.[138]

The reference to the transport of 'geistigen Giftmüll' is almost a direct quotation from the previous show's item on the environmental impact of rubbish disposal. Feasibly an attempt to intimidate the producers of *Radio Glasnost*, it is probably taken as a compliment that the SED are such avid listeners of the show, as suggested by Marenbach's dismissal of the guidelines: 'So weit, ahem, der SED-Leitfaden.' Not wishing to waste any more broadcast minutes on the SED, Marenbach swiftly turns to the voice of the opposition and their 'alternativer Aufruf zur Kommunalwahl' which, as well as advice, also offers warnings against thinking voting is futile: 'eine solche resignierte Haltung zementiert die bestehende innere Abgrenzung des staatlichen Machtsystems gegen eigenständige Verantwortung der Bürger erst wirklich!'[139] The alternative guidelines acknowledge the anxiety felt by the electorate about using the polling booths, concerned that their behaviour might be viewed as suspicious and

[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.

noted. The guidelines attempt to encourage voters to overcome this fear and officially use their voices by reminding them of the bigger picture: 'Die Überwindung dieser Angst ist ein wichtiger Schritt zur Demokratisierung unserer Gesellschaft.'[140] Voters are also told to take part in emptying the ballot boxes and overseeing the counting of votes and told that participation is the only route to a multiparty democracy.

By the April 1989 show, however, *Radio Glasnost* is forced to report the failed attempts of the independent opposition groups to gain a voice and get one of their candidates on the electoral lists. The opposition's hopeful tone has been replaced with one of frustration, disenchantment, even resignation. Theologian Reinhard Lampe views the SED's refusal to allow opposition candidates to run as a massive blow to Glasnost:

> Der Versuch, ein klein wenig kritische Öffentlichkeit über den Weg des in der DDR gängigen Wahlrechts oder der Wahlpraxis herzustellen, ist eindeutig von der Partei der SED abgelehnt worden, diese Art der Öffnung wird absolut nicht zugelassen, jetzt auf alle Fälle nicht bei dieser Kommunalwahl.[141]

But Lampe's longing for democratic space and for open debate moves him to remind listeners of their right to oversee the counting of votes and use the polling booth, exerting a form of monitoring voice. The next item does little to instil confidence among listeners that either of these actions will be possible. A covert recording of an election event – betrayed by the concurrent muffle and echo of the acoustic – offers insight into the difficulties faced by ordinary citizens when confronted by the SED's election organisers, a fact unlikely to surprise the show's Eastern listeners. We hear how an outspoken citizen poses difficult questions, and how his questions are deflected. In response to his request to obtain a list of polling stations, the man is bombarded with the name, office number and telephone number (including various extensions) to which he must go for an answer to this question. Presenter Ilona Marenbach repeats the telephone number for listeners after the item has aired, just in case it is of any use. The unidentified speaker of the item is heard stating quite plainly that he is one of many determined to take part in the counting of the votes. This courageous exclamation contrasts wildly with the message of the next item,

[140] Ibid.
[141] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 24 April 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.

issued jointly by the Initiative Friedens- und Menschenrechte and the Umweltbibliothek. They conclude that the 'eingeschränkte Wahlmöglichkeit' that allows them only to vote for SED-approved candidates or against them, but does not accommodate alternative candidates, is reason enough to boycott the election. They justify the proposed election boycott and their sense of resignation by stating 'Wahlen sind ein wesentlicher Ausdruck des Demokratieverständnisses einer Gesellschaft'[142] and by refusing to recognise the forthcoming local elections as free and open.

A recording from the Gethsemanekirche from the June 1989 show corroborates the reasons for the Umweltbibliothek's resignation.[143] Reacting to the news that a group of 150 people were prevented by state security from delivering an 'Eingabe' to Honecker at the Council of State to complain against the falsification of the May election result, signalling the gagging of an official voice, the speaker in the Prenzlauer Berg church declares that the GDR is politically bankrupt for which he receives applause. But the cleric also airs his concern that resignation is on the rise. He pleads with the audience in the church as well as with the audience at the end of the radio receiver, not to fall prey to it, calling for 'Sichtbarkeit und Wahrhaftigkeit'.[144]

With the hope of open elections lost, *Radio Glasnost* nevertheless continues to report on the activities of the various opposition groups. In the September show of 1989, Marenbach – in answer to her own question about whether the GDR can still be reformed – observes that its citizens have not become passive: 'Bewegung gibt es jedenfalls genug. Sei es in Richtung Ungarn oder aber als Oppositionsbewegung.'[145] The struggle for movement and mobilisation momentarily replaces the struggle for voice. Marenbach introduces the Neues Forum,[146] a new political platform for the opposition and she does so by drawing upon sources other than the opposition themselves. *Radio Glasnost*

---

[142] Ibid.
[143] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 26 June 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[144] Ibid.
[145] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 25 September 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[146] Neues Forum was the first oppositional political movement beyond the Protestant Church in the GDR. It understood itself as a movement rather than a party and worked to foster dialogue about democratic and societal reform. In February 1990 it formed Bündnis 90 together with the groups Demokratie Jetzt and Initiative für Frieden und Menschenrechte and ran in the Volkskammer elections. Following reunification, it formed a join list with the East German Green Party, which then merged with the West German Green Party in 1993 to form Bündnis 90/Die Grünen.

airs material already broadcast in the GDR – a news item from the East German television programme Aktuelle Kamera, announcing that an official application submitted to the interior ministry to form an association called Neues Forum has been considered and rejected. The newsreader announces the reasons for the rejected application without using reported speech, a grammatical convention observed by newscasters to indicate objectivity: 'Ziele und Anliegen der beantragten Vereinigung widersprechen der Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik und stellen eine staatsfeindliche Platform dar.'[147] There is to be no doubt and certainly no questioning of the interior minister's reasons for rejecting the application: 'Die Unterschriften-Sammlung zur Unterstützung der Gründung der Vereinigung war nicht genehmigt und folglich illegal.'[148] Even if the newsreader were to question the minister's reasons, she would not risk adopting reported speech to report them; it is an aspect of the subjunctive better saved for questioning the West or, as Marenbach demonstrates, for disputing the views of the SED: 'Das Neue Forum sei gesellschaftlich nicht notwendig.'[149] This is only one of few occasions on which *Radio Glasnost* airs broadcast material from the East. From a spatial perspective, the television show's jingle and sarcasm-free voice of its newsreader briefly dislodge the *Radio Glasnost* listener from the now familiar, even comfortable Thirdspace offered by Radio 100. The confusion serves as a reminder of the realities of the SED's resistance to change which, as Marenbach asserts, is more likely to motivate rather than discourage the opposition in their struggle for Glasnost and Perestroika.

5.2.5 'Draußen statt drüben': the Shared Space of the Environment

In addition to fighting for democratic reform and human rights, the vast majority of East German opposition groups had environmental reform high on their agendas. This was partly a legacy of the recent Chernobyl disaster, and partly because of pollution levels closer to home, and, like radio waves, airborne pollution paid no attention to the Wall. Ilona Marenbach's references to the weather serve as a reminder that both Berlins share the same environmental climate. Weather reporting is an integral part of most radio stations, but on *Radio Glasnost*, it is used purely for political effect, starting a show – for

[147] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 25 September 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost', Newsreader from *Aktuelle Kamera*.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.

instance – with a weather-related metaphor: 'Das naßkalte Klima drückt sich leider nicht nur im Wetter aus, sondern auch in der Politik. Ein Frühlingsanfang scheint noch nicht so recht in Sicht zu sein.'[150] When remarking upon the weather, Marenbach renders Berlin as one space, often referring to it as 'draußen'. The growing concern for the environment sees some *Radio Glasnost* reporting that involves parties in West as well as East Berlin. The city's confusing, shared environmental space is particularly evident when it comes to the issue of rubbish disposal; *Radio Glasnost*'s coverage of this issue renders the show a forum for voices beyond the East Berlin opposition and for ears other than the SED.

A report aired on the first February show in 1988 addresses shared concerns about the toxic waste disposal unit located on the outskirts of the city in Vorketzin and about plans for another one in Schöneiche. For want of another West Berlin voice, Marenbach stretches beyond her remit as presenter and reports on West Berlin's dealings in these two rural locations on GDR territory. She starts by adjusting the vocabulary used in what she evidently views as waste disposal propaganda: 'Sondermüll. Das ist die verharmlosende Bezeichnung für etwas weniger Harmloses: Giftmüll. Alte Öle, Farb- und chemische Reste aus Industrie und Laboren.'[151] Marenbach reports that West Berlin exports, or rather deports 60,000 tonnes of toxic waste a year to the GDR. Although the 'Grenzverkehr' is permitted under a contractual agreement for which the East receive payment, she alleges that the terms and conditions are less well defined and, therefore, more of a risk to Berliners on both sides of the Wall, and in particular to the population local to Vorketzin. She points the finger at the authorities in the East and West, the former for their lack of transparency: 'Kontrollieren können dies die West-Berliner Behörden nicht. Die Kontrolle endet an der Grenze'[152] and the latter for their convenient attitude towards the lack of regulation: 'Damit sind die Giftmüllverursacher aus West-Berlin aus dem Schneider nach dem Prinzip "Was ich nicht weiß, macht mich nicht heiß."'[153] She criticises the West Berlin authorities for taking advantage of the GDR's strict regulations preventing the disclosure of pollution level data pertaining to the waste disposal site. She alleges it is simply a money-saving

[150] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 29 February 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost', Ilona Marenbach.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.

venture in which the West Berlin authorities pay the GDR forty marks per tonne instead of the 3,500 marks it would cost to dispose of the waste in the Federal Republic: 'Das deckt wahrscheinlich nicht einmal die Betriebskosten. Da kann man schon mal ein Umwelt-Äuglein zudrücken, selbst wenn sich die Deponie inmitten eines Landschaftsschutzgebietes befindet, wie Vorketzin.'[154] Marenbach's sarcasm is stronger in tone when she is criticising the West: 'Ein Trost bleibt. Bei Südwind kommt der Dreck nach West-Berlin zurück!'[155] The 'deutsch-deutsche Dreckschleuder' is a common concern. Marenbach informs her listeners that in West Berlin, the Alternative Liste have demanded the publishing of data, and then airs a protest letter from East Berlin's Umweltbibliothek, addressed to West Berlin's environment and city development senator, Jürgen Starnick.[156]

The letter of protest is an illustration of how intertwined this issue is in spatial terms. The public uproar in both West and East Berlin was spurred by an investigative report broadcast by *Kontraste* (for whom Roland Jahn also worked as a journalist), a prominent current affairs programme on the West German public television network, ARD and, in Berlin, on SFB. This shared furor on either side of the Wall demonstrates how media space and environmental space are less governable, less controllable and less receptive to segregation (Abgrenzung) than other spaces. The Umweltbibliothek make use of a method commonly used in the East – they effectively issue an *Eingabe* to the Western authorities. Aware that other tools are common and necessary in the West, they end their letter with the threat of legal action should the West Berlin authorities not respect their demands. They accuse Starnick of doing damage to common, shared space: '[Sie] haben der deutsch-deutschen Zusammenarbeit im Umweltschutz einen schlechten Dienst erwiesen'[157] and they demand that West Berlin ceases from disposing of its toxic waste in the East as long as no regulations pertaining to standards are in place with the GDR authorities. They also insist that the West ensure the appropriate standard of technology is used in the disposal process. Marenbach relays the senator's response to the East, distancing herself from his stance and his politics with the standard use of reported speech: 'Herr Starnick erklärte daraufhin, daß er die Bedenken der

[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.
[156] As well as serving as a politician, Jürgen Starnick was a chemistry professor at the Technische Universität in Berlin, where he was also president from 1979–1985.
[157] Ibid.

Umweltbibliothek sehr ernst nehme.'[158] She reports that he questions the veracity of the reporting upon which the Umweltbibliothek's allegations are based, but promises he will do everything in his power to see that the best standard of technology is deployed at the new waste disposal site in Schöneiche. Aided by the independent communication channels provided by *Radio Glasnost*, vocal protesters from the Alternative Liste in West Berlin and those of the Umweltbibliothek share a space that is separate from their respective Firstspaces. It allows both parties space to resist and with a joint voice, reject the voices of politicians who speak only in 'Sonntagsreden'.

Although the space provided by *Radio Glasnost* serves freedom of expression on both sides of the Wall, it fails to improve or change this particular situation. Almost a year later in the January programme of 1989, Marenbach delivers a brief update on the matter. This time, another group from the GDR resistance scene – Grüne Netzwerk Arche – have written to the same West Berlin senator voicing their concerns about Schöneiche. Marenbach cites the West Berlin authorities' response: 'Die Entsorgung beider Teile Berlins fand schon immer fast ausschließlich im Umland statt. Es liegt auf der Hand, daß eine Müllverbrennung oder Deponierung so wenig auf dem Alex möglich ist wie auf dem Ku'Damm.'[159] The senator's evasive, even abrupt response hardly matters because, as Marenbach reports, he may not have a governing seat in the city's senate for much longer because of the lengthy coalition negotiations that are likely to be the outcome from the previous day's elections. Marenbach's reference to West Berlin politics is not limited to this piece of news, however. The show opens, unusually, in West Berlin and remains there for some minutes as she voices her indignation at the West Berlin election result: 'West-Berlin hat seine Wahl getroffen, und alle Demokraten sind nun überrascht, bestürzt und betroffen. Statt Schweine ins Weltall, rechtsradikale Republikaner ins Abgeodnetenhaus.'[160] As if she's appealing for a reaction from her main audience, the East, she plays a punk number called 'Gebt den Faschisten keine neue Chance' and wryly avoids embarking upon a rant irrelevant to her East Berlin listeners by stating 'So weit unser Beitrag heute Abend zu den west-

[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.
[160] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 30 January 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost', Ilona Marenbach.

Berliner Abgeodnetenhauswahlen'[161] immediately after repeating the title of the musical interlude. Shocked that a right-wing populist party has won enough votes to gain seats in the city parliament, Marenbach speculates whether there are opportunities for the West Berlin Alternative Liste and SPD to work together with East Berlin 'Basisgruppen', not only on the issue of the environment. Although she immediately dismisses the notion, it suggests that *Radio Glasnost* strives for a solidarity that not only flows from West to East, and that the censor-free space they have created is needed in the West as well as in the East.

5.3 Reactions to *Radio Glasnost*

Radio Glasnost did not, by any means, slip by unnoticed by a wider public. It received a great deal of attention from the media on both sides of the Wall and from as far away as Moscow. It also caught the ear of the Stasi who launched a counterattack to the show in the form of a jamming operation which, in turn, won *Radio Glasnost* yet more media attention. Based on newspaper cuttings, press releases and Stasi files, the final section of this chapter analyses how the reactions of the media and the Stasi extended the reach and upped the volume of *Radio Glasnost*, so that it created a space for more than just the anti-establishment.

5.3.1 Media Reactions

Radio Glasnost procured appreciably more mediaspace than intended, and certainly on a grander scale than any left-wing alternative radio station could ever have expected. The printed press on both sides of the Wall devoted a significant amount of column inches to the programme, and in their own coverage of *Radio Glasnost* Western television and radio broadcasters recycled reports gathered by *Radio Glasnost*. Regular coverage in the printed press signalled a brief, newly revived propaganda war; *Radio Glasnost* inadvertently presented authorities on both sides an opportunity to take a stab at each other. While the West's media reception of *Radio Glasnost* was certainly warmer than that in the East, views were mixed. Publications centre-left of the political spectrum were curious, encouraging and complimentary. The left-leaning daily *die taz* label it 'eine längst überfällige Sendung',[162] a demonstrative compliment of sorts, intended to make public their continuing support for the GDR

[161] Ibid.
[162] Martha Sandrock, 'Privat für drüben', *die taz*, 2 September 1987.

resistance groups. The article's headline – 'Privatfunk für drüben' – shows that the extraordinary spatial significance of *Radio Glasnost* and its Habermasian promise of free debate is not lost on the *taz* editors. Its competitor a couple of degrees closer to the political centre, the Berlin daily broadsheet *Tagesspiegel,* paints a rather idealistic picture of West Berliners that assumes that the show's breadth of audience will be tantamount to its spatial ambit: 'Natürlich sei die Sendung "nicht nur für die DDR konzipiert". Erreicht werden sollen ebenso jetzt im Westen lebende ehemalige DDR-Bürger, aber auch West-Berliner, die an "vorurteilsfreien authentischen Informationen" interessiert sind.'[163] Another article by the *taz* wishes to make clear how important the show is as a political opportunity for the resistance in the GDR: '*Radio Glasnost* soll kein Jammerfunk für Ex-DDRler werden. […] Aufzeigen will man die "Vielfalt der Oppositionsszene" drüben.'[164] As a shareholder in the station on which the show is run, the *tageszeitung*'s clarification could be viewed as publicity, but it is also a likely and necessary challenge to the more conservative, right-of-centre coverage.

In their page-length feature on *Radio Glasnost* the high-circulation, then centre-left current affairs weekly, *Der Spiegel* reports selectively from the very top. The lengthy subtitle, rendered in bold, reads like a smirk and a raised eyebrow simultaneously, and it evinces their editors' disbelief that a left-wing radio station could possibly wield enough influence to cause strife between Moscow and the capital of the GDR: 'Ein linksalternativer Radiosender in West-Berlin bringt Ost-Berlin und Moskau gegen sich auf – mit freier Berichterstattung aus der DDR.' Instead of focussing on *Radio Glasnost*'s extensive coverage of opposition groups seeking reform, *Der Spiegel* cites the report on the initiative 'Staatsbürgerschaftsrecht' summing up their position as one that demands the right to emigrate to the Federal Republic: 'Im Radio meldete sich aus Ost-Berlin eine Gruppe Staatsbürgerschaftsrecht zu Wort und verlangte die Freiheit zum "Wechsel des Wohnsitzes in die BRD" […]'.[165] Although the article then mentions the Kirche von Unten's demand to allow political prisoners who wish to remain in the GDR to stay, the dramatic introduction sends a clear message, namely that the Federal Republic can offer disillusioned GDR citizens hope and

[163] Peter Gärtner, 'Erstmals funkt "Radio Glasnost" für die Hörer in der DDR', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 31 August 1987.
[164] 'Radio 100 funkt ab heute über die Mauer', *die taz*, 31 August 1987.
[165] 'Radio Glasnost', *der Spiegel*, 7 March 1988.

a home. In wild contrast with the manner in which Ilona Marenbach speaks to her mainly Eastern audience, the tone of this article is, at times, flippant. It refers, for instance, to the show's audience as 'sächsische Dissidenten, thüringische Reformer und Ost-Berliner Oppositionelle'.[166] Equally, the article defends *Radio Glasnost* in the face of criticism charged at the show by *Neues Deutschland* in the East.

Conservative daily *Die Welt* is, on the whole, impressed with *Radio Glasnost*, at least with its concept. It describes the content, however, with little enthusiasm: 'Mit Pop-Musik […] beginnt das 60-Minuten-Forum von DDR-Problemen […] auf Band gesprochene Texte [..] fiktiver Interviews – bei denen das Frage-Antwort-Spiel vom Blatt kommt […].'[167] But like *Spiegel*, it also springs to the show's defence and dismisses the *Neues Deutschland* campaign out of hand. Both articles quote from a press release issued by the *Radio Glasnost* editors; a sign that the publications respect the show and take it seriously.

The chatter about *Radio Glasnost* in the Western press contrasts greatly with the East. There are one, at the most two voices in the East, and it is less chatter than a string of bellowed objections. The first objection is the alleged misuse of the term Glasnost, and it comes directly from Moscow. In an *op ed* from the Soviet news agency *Telegrafnoye agentstvo Sowyetskogo Soyusa* (TASS) re-printed in the East Berlin newspaper, *die Berliner Zeitung*, the Moscow-commissioned commentator airs his grievance that the show would not be enjoying so much attention had they not misappropriated the term Glasnost, stating that it stands for open, proper debate and not 'ein Rückfall in den psychologischen Krieg'.[168] The show is dismissed as a 'ausgesprochene Anachronismus' and the producers are referred to as 'Demagogen', as another voice 'im Chor der Hetzsender des Westens' and, somewhat pejoratively, as 'extremistischen Jugendlichen'. They are accused of twisting the truth and of attempting to provoke divisions within GDR society, defined in the article's headline as 'Glasnost auf westliche Art.' A *Neues Deutschland* article with the headline 'Dichtung und Wahrheit' is more direct in expressing its objection to the use of the term Glasnost: 'ein Wort, das östlich von uns einen anderen Sinn

[166] Ibid.
[167] Hans-R. Karuz, 'Wenn sich der Monat neigt, wird's kritisch für Ost-Berlin', *die Welt*, 22 March 1988.
[168] Igor Ossinksi, 'Glasnost auf westliche Art', *Berliner Zeitung*, 12 January 1988.

hat, wird mißbraucht, um konter-revolutionäre Propaganda gegen die DDR zu betreiben'.[169] The East Berlin newspaper *Neues Deutschland* – referred to in the West as a *Staatsorgan* – accuses *Radio Glasnost* of re-igniting Cold War animosities and issues a veiled threat: 'In jedem Fall wird sich diese Kampagne ungünstig auf die Beziehung zwischen der DDR, der BRD und Berlin (West) auswirken.'[170] The article counteracts *Radio Glasnost*'s criticism of human rights abuses in the GDR with an attempt to equate Capitalism with these abuses and highlights the uglier side of the Western system: 'Man denke nur an die vier Millionen Arbeitslosen in der BRD und in West-Berlin, man denke an jene armen Kinder, die bei schlechtem Wetter ohne Strümpfe und ohne Schuhe mit kalten Füßen und ohne Frühstück zur Schule gehen müssen.'[171] The GDR voice is stronger in its disapproval than the voice from Moscow, a reflection perhaps of the varied interpretation and implementation of Glasnost in the two states.

Neues Deutschland ups its campaign against *Radio Glasnost* the following month with an article asking 'Wer steuert die sogenannte DDR-Opposition?'[172] in which the 'so-called' GDR opposition is declared a myth. Using militaristic vocabulary ('Lager des Gegners', 'Feindschaft') the article claims that *Radio Glasnost* is run by 'imperialistische Geheimdienste' and accuses Roland Jahn of working for the West German intelligence and of smuggling material and recording equipment across the inner-German border in order to pass on to Western intelligence services. Jahn and the producers are also accused of organising an 'innere Opposition' of whipping up an imaginary, fictitious opposition to serve their alleged defamation campaign against the East.

Radio Glasnost hit back against the 'Diffamierungen' with a press release and by dedicating a segment of their February programme to the accusations. In an almost self-congratulatory manner, *Radio Glasnost* questions how a small station such as Radio 100 could possibly be responsible for divisions that have materialised in the GDR. They remind the Eastern press of Radio 100's 'Ortung' within the political spectrum of the West German and West Berlin media landscape, dismissing the accusation that – as a left-wing media organisation they are responsible for anti-Socialist propaganda, and question why *Neues*

[169] 'Dichtung und Wahrheit', *Neues Deutschland*, 2 February 1988.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.
[172] 'Wer steuert die sogenannte DDR-Opposition?', *Neues Deutschland*, 17 February 1988.

Deutschland does not attack the conservative press in the West. On air, Marenbach joins in with the distorted reporting and twists the accusations to their advantage: 'Soviel Aufmerksamkeit haben wir nun wirklich nicht verdient',[173] and thanks the GDR press for spreading the word about the show: 'Besser hätten wir die Sendung auch nicht ankündigen können'.[174] The same view of the media reactions is still held by Dieter Rulff:

> So, diese Bestätigung durch die Stasi fanden wir erstmal ganz toll, denn sie verschaffte uns natürlich ein enormes Maß an Publizität. Wir kamen in die Zeitungen, wir kamen in anderes Radio, ins Fernsehen und da wurde berichtet, und natürlich weil die Leute auch Westfernsehen guckten und Westrundfunk hörten, merkte jeder 'aha! Das ist die Sendung! Da wird ja brav berichtet!'[175]

In the press release, they take it further and dismiss the accusation that continued broadcasting of *Radio Glasnost* will strain relations between the two German states, and suggest that if *Neues Deutschland* and the authorities on whose behalf they write see it that way, they should ask the CDU governments of West Berlin and the Federal Republic to intervene. They correct the East Berlin newspaper's misreporting of the facts, clarifying for example that *Radio Glasnost* is financed by advertising and voluntary listener contributions, and report that their invitation to the reporters at *Neues Deutschland* to contact them directly if in the future they should need background information on the show has been ignored: 'Soweit der Stand dieses Ost-West-Dialoges.'[176] Under the 68er-inspired headline 'Der Muff von 40 Jahren' the *taz* declares the *Neues Deutschland* campaign against *Radio Glasnost* a predictable farce and suggests an alliance between them and the conservative newspapers of the West, a deliberately impertinent assertion: 'Es ist kein Zufall, daß die DDR ausgerechnet einen linksalternativen Sender zur Belastung der deutsch-deutschen Beziehungen erklärt, während rechtskonservative Medien problemlos Akkreditierungen in Ost-Berlin bekommen.'[177] Again, the need for an autonomous radio space in the interests of Glasnost on both sides of the

---

[173] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 29 February 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost', Ilona Marenbach.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Dieter Rulff in interview with the author (see appendix II).
[176] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 29 February 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost', Ilona Marenbach.
[177] Clara Roth, 'Der Muff von 40 Jahren', *die taz*, 2 February 1988.

Wall is made clear. *Radio Glasnost* disrupts the status quo duopoly of the media and transforms the structure of divided Berlin's public sphere, allowing enough space for hitherto muted voices to resonate.

5.3.2 Stasi Reactions

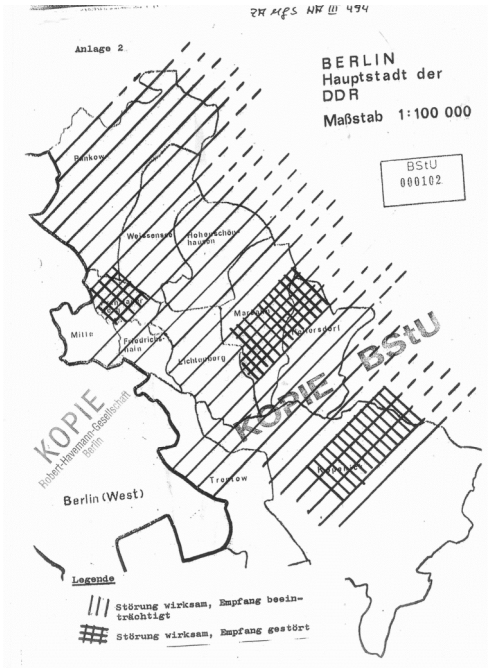
> Niemand wird daran gehindert, sich durch die in der DDR einstrahlenden westlichen Fernseh- und Rundfunksender zu informieren.
>
> — Erich Honnecker[178]

The paradoxical and diverging political developments in the GDR and in the Soviet Union are made distinctly clear by the Stasi's reaction to *Radio Glasnost*. In January 1987, Gorbachev ceased jamming Western broadcasters in the USSR. In the spring of 1988, the Stasi resumed jamming with the launch of two operations – Operation David I which consisted of jamming sections of *Radio Glasnost* particularly critical of the GDR, and Operation David II which saw a further increase in jamming. The operations marked the first time the Stasi had disrupted broadcasts of a Western radio station since they ceased jamming RIAS in 1978. Legally, the Stasi could only jam reception on its territory, a difficult challenge in the condensed mediaspace of divided Berlin. This section analyses the Stasi's reaction to *Radio Glasnost* using internal Stasi documents which reveal an acute sense of panic within the surveillance authorities, particularly once the Western media react to the jamming. The name given to both operations is intriguing. Dieter Rulff sees *Radio Glasnost* as 'der klassische mediale David, der gegen den Goliath kämpft, und der Goliath konnte nicht über die Mauer springen'.[179] It seems the Stasi consider themselves to be David and *Radio Glasnost* to be Goliath. The stone they hurl takes the form of jamming frequencies but, unlike David, they do not succeed in eliminating Goliath entirely. Examples of jamming can be heard on the shows of March and April 1988; every now and then, the show cuts out and is replaced by the static hiss of radio resistance. *Radio Glasnost* producers simply aired the April show again two nights later without interference.

A Staatssicherheit document from 21 March 1988 detailing the technical resources and personnel required to jam *Radio Glasnost* lists twelve jamming transmitters located in East Berlin and Potsdam that are to be used in Operation David. These include the television tower and various high-rise

[178] Erich Honecker in a press conference with Western journalists on 21 April 1988.
[179] Dieter Rulff in interview with the author (see appendix II).

buildings on Leipziger Straße and on the Fischerinsel, as well as the Stadion der Weltjugend. A list of twelve teams is followed by detailed instructions and regulations specifying the technical procedures to be followed in order to achieve the best result – 'weißes Rauschen'.[180] The extent of the operation's success in March 1988 is recorded on a map rendered in ink by hand and typewriter (figure 5.3). A key indicates that parallel lines represent partial interference, and criss-cross lines delineate the white noise of complete jamming. Most of the Eastern part of the city is covered in lines. Prenzlauer Berg is the only district the Stasi managed to jam completely which, known to the MfS as a hotbed of dissent, was feasibly their highest priority. Parts of other districts in which only white noise was heard include Köpenick, Marzahn and Hellersdorf. Parts of Mitte and Treptow were left completely unaffected. Following the cartographical norm for rendering the divided city, West Berlin is an empty space without districts and, according to the diagram, completely unaffected by the jamming. These lines, which effectively cross out East Berlin, are evocative of prison bars, and ironically, West Berlin looks both particularly free and peculiarly accessible. By interpreting the key in this way, there is, perhaps, no better visual rendition of *Radio Glasnost*'s space.



[180] 'Maßnahmeplan zur Materiell-technischen und personellen Sicherstellung der Aktion David', Hauptabteilung III, Stellvertreter F, Berlin, 21 March 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Dokumentation 'Radio Glasnost'.

Figure 5.3: Stasi map detailing results of jamming operation David II, April 1988. (Source: Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Dokumentation 'Radio Glasnost')

After jamming two shows, an assessment on its effectiveness is issued by Hauptabteilung III of the MfS.[181] The three-page document briefly outlines the main goal of *Radio Glasnost*: 'Es wird der Versuch unternommen, sich massiv in die inneren Angelegenheiten der DDR einzumischen, spezielle Zielgruppen in der DDR zu inspirieren und ein Sprachrohr für im Sinne politischer Untergrundtätigkeit in der DDR wirkender Kräfte zu stärken.'[182] This incisive if biased analysis is undoubtedly a reminder for superiors to justify the deployment of twelve teams for the operation. The report depicts the operation's 'selektive Störung' as deliberate and evaluates the operation favourably: 'Die dabei erreichte Beeinträchtigung des Empfangs wird als sehr wirksam eingeschätzt und war von einem hohen technischen Niveau getragen'.[183] The report not only defends the size of the operation, but it is also forced to offer an explanation for the widespread, negative Western media attention received immediately after the April operation, David II:

> Obwohl die durchgeführten Störmaßnahmen das Territorium von Berlin (West) nur geringfügig beeinträchtigten, insbesondere im unmittelbaren Bereich an der Staatsgrenze zur Hauptstadt, reagierte die Westpresse nach der Empfangsstörung am 25. April 1988 auf diese Maßnahme und brachte die DDR unmittelbar damit in Zusammenhang.[184]

They cautiously add that although the utmost effort was made to avoid the disruption of radio reception in West Berlin, it was not entirely possible for technical reasons. The authors of the report warn that the 'gegnerische Funkkontrolle' in the West is likely to take steps to monitor future jamming in order to uncover the Stasi operation. Drawing attention to the 1982 Geneva international broadcasting treaty, they caution that legal issues would ensue and they advise against pursuing any further jamming for fear of repercussions. Appeasing their superiors, they suggest that ceasing jamming operations would

[181] 'Weitere Verfahrensweise zum Vorgehen gegen den Sendebeitrag "Radio Glasnost – außer Kontrolle" des Privatsenders "Radio 100" in Berlin (West)', Hauptabtelung III, Berlin, 6 May 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Dokumentation 'Radio Glasnost'.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.

also avoid further unwanted attention from the Western press which could see an undesired increase in *Radio Glasnost*'s listenership.

The sharp and potent words of the Western press deem the Stasi report's conclusion a logical and sensible reaction. In a short commentary piece, the *taz* accuses the Stasi of making Honecker look like an idiot, jamming *Radio Glasnost* not a week since the SED leader told Western journalists at a press conference that nobody in the GDR will be prevented from watching or listening to Western stations.[185] The same commentator accuses the Stasi of paranoia and labels them as fools to risk an international conflict for the sake of a small, left-wing, once a month 60-minute show. The political pundit closes his commentary by offending and mocking the Stasi a third time, disingenuously speculating that such a questionable undertaking cannot be anything more than the doing of a 'Neuköllner Rundfunkfreak' messing about with his hobby crystal radio kit in the kitchen. The ambiguity of the headline – 'Hinterhältig: Jemand versucht, die DDR in Mißkredit zu bringen' – pokes yet more fun at the GDR authorities for their over-reaction to *Radio Glasnost*, suggesting the jamming operation can only backfire on the East. *Die Welt* accuses the GDR with 'einem eklatanten Bruch internationaler Bestimmungen'[186] and states quite clearly that jamming contravenes international broadcasting treaties. A further *taz* report states that the Deutsche Bundespost Berlin – the West Berlin authorities responsible for the regulation of radio frequencies – promises to investigate who is responsible for the jamming. The article conjectures that the Stasi is responsible for the disruption and suggests it is the next step in a campaign against *Radio Glasnost* following the series of defamatory articles in *Neues Deutschland* two months previously. Interestingly, the Stasi report does not correlate with the allegations made by the *Neues Deutschland* in that there is no mention of *Radio Glasnost* being run by Western intelligence officers. Instead, the internal Stasi report reveals their defeat in the face of the Western media, and *Radio Glasnost* is allowed to air undisturbed until the space the Stasi is attempting to defend from imperialist influence no longer exists. The *Radio Glasnost* producers' reaction is simply to repeat the disrupted shows. True to her provocative and audacious style, Marenbach suggests in the

[185] Claus Christian Malzahn, 'Hinterhältig: Jemand versucht, die DDR in Misskredit zu bringen', *die taz*, 27 April 1988.
[186] Hans-R. Karutz, 'Nach zehn Jahren Funkstille stört Ost-Berlin wieder West-Sendungen', *Die Welt*, 28 April 1988.

December show, before jamming commenced, that the head of the Stasi might be an avid listener: 'Vielleicht werden wir ja auch von Mielke gehört!'[187] The subsequent operations David I and David II would suggest her conjecture was not far from the truth. *Radio Glasnost* producers viewed the jamming as praise, as 'hohe Politik',[188] and as a measure of the programme's growing importance. The Stasi's attempt to obscure and silence the voices of the opposition failed spectacularly in that it achieved the very opposite: more airtime for the opposition through repeated shows and louder criticism from the Western media and politics. If anything, the Stasi's jamming operations actually gave voice to their many enemies, inadvertently promoting a commercial radio station.

Conclusion

Radio Glasnost is unparalleled in the broadcasting history of divided Berlin. The show generated previously uncharted spaces in which voices that were silenced elsewhere could speak up and speak out across the entire GDR and West Berlin. It is an extraordinary example of cooperation between East and West Berlin and a result of resistance against the establishment and mainstream media on both sides of the Wall. Although the show predominantly broadcast East Berlin's underground voices and spaces across the divided city, it also relayed little pockets of alternative West Berlin into the East, in the shape of Ilona Marenbach's commentary and the ethos of *linksalternative* dissent she represented.

Although *Radio Glasnost* profited hugely from mainstream media attention, the show's producers were unabashed in ensuring they beat both media systems, bypassing the totalitarian censorship of the East's state media and the biased editorial angles of the West's public broadcasters. The show was ahead of the game on many occasions. Producer Dieter Rulff remembers how, in September 1989, *Radio Glasnost* was able to report live via telephone from the first demonstration in Leipzig before West German radio and television stations even knew what was going on:

[187] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 28 December 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'.
[188] Roland Jahn in interview with the author (see appendix I).

> Da an dem Montag hat ein wagemutiger Mensch von dort aus zu uns in die Sendung reintelefoniert, und berichtet, was da gleich an dem Abend passiert war. Das war natürlich brisant.[189]

By embracing Glasnost and opening up the *Öffentlichkeit* beyond the parameters set by the established broadcasters, *Radio Glasnost* was in the vanguard when it came to political reporting. For this reason Dieter Rulff claims he was not at all surprised when the Wall fell on 9 November 1989. Roland Jahn even believes, to this day, that *Radio Glasnost* actually contributed to the fall of the Wall; a remarkable and powerful assertion coming from the current federal commissioner of the Stasi archives.

The extent to which *Radio Glasnost* was exceptional in terms of space and voice is clear when, after November 1989, the show is immediately taken off air. As soon as the Wall fell, the producers questioned the continued existence of the show:

> Die Frage, die wir hatten, war: brauchen wir die Sendung noch? Brauchen wir noch eine Stimme für die Opposition, die wir über die Grenze schmuggeln? Brauchen wir noch eine Pressefreiheit, was wir jemanden geben mit Hilfe der Sendung *Radio Glasnost*? Und uns war klar, irgendwo hat die Sendung ihr Soll erfüllt.[190]

Jahn's questions illustrate how the radical shift in space brought about by the fall of the Wall renders voices differently. The very last show demonstrates this clearly because, for the first time ever, *Radio Glasnost* broadcasts GDR voices directly from the West, without the use of smuggled tapes. Spatially, the last show is wholly different from all its previous shows and poignantly symbolic, indicated not only by its title, 'DDR-Opposition: Von der Straße zur Regierungsbank?' but by its altered broadcasting space. Ilona Marenbach is joined in the Schöneberg studio by members of the GDR opposition where they sit at their make-shift round table and discuss their future:

> Das Thema heute Abend: DDR-Opposition von der Strasse zur Regierungsbank – Fragezeichnen. Wir haben hier im Studio einen halben symbolischen runden Tisch aufgebaut, symbolisch, weil unser Studiotisch ist, ahem, rechteckig, und halb, weil zum runden Tisch sicherlich auch andere gehören. Eingeladen haben wir Vertreter

[189] Dieter Rulff in interview with the author (see appendix II).
[190] Roland Jahn in interview with the author (see appendix I).

> verschiedener oppositioneller Gruppen und gekommen sind Ibrahim Böhme von der SDP, Hildegund Neubart – Demokratischer Aufbruch, Sybille Gläser – Demokratie Jetzt, Christoph Singenstein von der Initiative Frieden und Menschenrechte und Reinhard Schult vom Neuen Forum. Und es fehlt noch ein Vertreter oder Vertreterin von der vereinigten Linke. Aber vielleicht kommt er oder sie noch vorbei.
>
> Von der Straße zur Regierungsbank? Auf der Straße hat ja alles angefangen und das sind noch keine drei Monate her und schon gibt es eine Reihe verschiedene Gruppen, Initiativen und Parteien und Parteien-Initiativen und wir wollen versuchen, die Gemeinsamkeiten und auch Unterschiede der jeweiligen Ansätze heraus zu arbeiten. Dann fangen wir gleich an mit dem Thema Wahlen. Freie Wahlen ist ja eine der Forderungen, die mittlerweile ja von der SED getragen werden. Egon Krenz hat Neuwahlen für Ende 1990 angekündigt.[191]

The relaxed manner with which Marenbach announces one of the invited guests is yet to turn up shows how profoundly different the city has become. She is evidently unperturbed by his late arrival, putting it down to delays on the U-Bahn rather than delays at the border. The voices of *Radio Glasnost* have been re-united, or united, for the first time in their now shared Firstspace; until this moment they had only ever met in Thirdspace. The result is the most optimal form of Habermasian space the show was ever able to create; it is a space of reciprocity in which differing voices of the opposition are able to discuss and debate around an incomplete 'round table'. If, as Jahn asserts, *Radio Glasnost* did contribute to bringing down the Wall, its impact on space is all the more exceptional. Jahn's memory of the last show is tinged with pride:

> Irgendwo hat [Radio Glasnost] das geleistet, was wichtig war und hat denn auch beigetragen, zum Fall der Mauer. […] Das geht mir heute noch emotional nah, wenn ich daran denke, wie wir dort gemeinsam in einem Studio saßen und den Fall der Mauer und die friedliche Revolution gefeiert haben.[192]

Jahn's emotion, all the more apparent in his voice on tape, clearly conveys the sense of achievement all the show's voices felt in coming together and speaking from one space.

---

[191] *Radio Glasnost,* Radio 100, 27 November 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost', Ilona Marenbach.
[192] Roland Jahn in interview with the author (see appendix I).

CONCLUSION

To conclude, this chapter both summarises my research findings and outlines the potential for further research, raising questions about mediated memory that build upon the outcomes of this study's investigation into radio, space and voice.

This thesis demonstrates what radio research can contribute to our understanding of a city that has already been explored extensively through literature, art and film; the medium of radio proffers the alternative sensory dimension of sound. By basing my primary research on listening to the original tapes rather than on reading scripts and transcripts, this thesis is able to offer a significantly richer analysis that encompasses aural aspects, such as tone, radio actuality and 'ambi', and the meanings they create. Listening has led to the discovery of a variety of voices competing for, claiming, rejecting, utilising and producing different spaces. In addition to studio space and listening space, these include news space, media event space, discursive space and the space of resistance. These spheres differ in nature; the antagonistic monologues favoured by GDR broadcasters are, for instance, an example of Secondspace, of propaganda seeking to represent concrete Firstspace. This is also true of RIAS' radio rendering of John F. Kennedy's visit to Berlin which, compounded by the euphoria of the media event, is an intentionally biased view of the Firstspace of West Berlin. Friedrich Luft's weekly arts slot and his inclusive, personable mode of address, which does not once falter for the entire period under evaluation, is a fine example of discursive space. As testified by radio theorists Scannell, Crisell and Chignell, discursive space is the ingredient to good, compelling radio because it includes the listeners and makes them feel present and part of the conversation. In the divided city of Berlin, Luft's discursive space comprises a Thirdspace in which Berliners East and West may take refuge and seek comfort from the friendly, familiar and constant voice of the 'Urberliner'. Ilona Marenbach's presentational skills also create a strong discursive space, linking the various contributions and opinions of opposition voices in the GDR with each other and, from time to time, with concerns shared by West Berliners, such as the environment. *Radio Glasnost* is an embodiment of Thirdspace where left-wing West Berliners meet dissidents and reformers from East Berlin and where both groups, but particularly the latter, are given a

voice. It is also an example of a Thirdspace where there is no Firstspace alternative in which these groups may voice their concerns. Firstspace only becomes available to them in the very last show at the end of November 1989 when they meet in the studio in what is also, briefly, a very Habermasian public sphere. As soon as democratic Firstspace is available for the GDR opposition, *Radio Glasnost*'s Thirdspace is no longer needed.

The range of voices that feature in my findings include the purportedly neutral voices of news reporters, the editorial angle of studio-based commentators in the East, the excited voices narrating the Kennedy media event, the theatre critic's voice of which biased and unfiltered opinion is expected, and the voice of the presenter as embodied by Ilona Marenbach whose sarcastic tone sometimes rivals that of Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler. Further voices encountered in the course of my research include those of unnamed Berliners (in the form of *vox populi*), those of contributors (in particular the otherwise silenced voices of the GDR opposition) and the voices and tone of the stations, evident in the reporting style of their continuity announcers and the style of their jingles. Jingles, in particular, represent the voice of a station in order to distinguish itself on the crowded radio dial. Because a jingle is constantly repeated, it has the potential to define not only the broadcasting space but also the sound of a city. For this reason, the jingle – as a type of repeated radio station 'voice' – can evoke surprisingly strong memories.

Researching the radio of this period has uncovered original material that tells, until now, virtually untold stories. This is entirely the case with *Radio Glasnost* but it also, to some degree, applies to Friedrich Luft who, although far better known and much more widely remembered than *Radio Glasnost*, has not been considered other than in biographical form. My audio-based fieldwork has also cast new light via lesser-known channels on well-known topics, namely the building of the Berlin Wall and John F. Kennedy's visit to West Berlin. My analyses of these two historical 'events' show to what extent they were also radio events. Specifically, the sources analysed in chapter two demonstrate how radio maps a city in transition with news reports. These reports chart the rapid and dramatic spatial transition underway as the Wall goes up. Broadcasting from previously ordinary and insignificant sites such as the U-Bahn or a street lined with tenement housing shows the disruption created not only by the news itself, but also by the news industry both in public on the

streets of Berlin and at home when it interrupts the daily broadcasting schedule. Listening to radio reports and hearing the grain, the nerves and the worry in the reporters' and Berliners' voices offers a different angle by which to consider a much-photographed event.

The seven-hour radio coverage of the Kennedy event reveals how invested SFB and RIAS are in rendering their own Secondspace version of West Berlin, and confirms the extent to which the media plays a major part in political 'events'. The tapes depict West Berlin as both a radio studio and a radio receiver with RIAS microphones ready to amplify Kennedy's voice at each speaking appointment and radio speakers on every street corner so that the crowds awaiting the President are also present at the radio event. The prominence of RIAS' logo on the President's microphones makes quite clear that the United States is running the show and serves as a visual reminder that editorial control at RIAS ultimately lay with the US occupying forces despite having an almost entirely German staff. The event also marks a feat in live broadcasting as confirmed by the constant showcasing and celebration of radio technology; RIAS' self-referencing reaches a zenith immediately after Kennedy's famous words when its jingle – the *Freiheitsglocke* – rings out live from the bell tower over Berlin and over the airwaves.

RIAS was also invested in Friedrich Luft whose voice represented the station as much as the *Freiheitsglocke*. Just as the original neon RIAS sign still hangs above the entrance to what is now Deutschlandradio Kultur, Friedrich Luft's name hangs on a commemorative plaque next to it. That listeners could count on hearing the same voice by tuning in to RIAS every week at the same time for almost half a century is not only a marker of Friedrich Luft's talent as a broadcaster, but it also makes his voice the most audible in divided Berlin's radio soundscape. Luft's simulated conversations with his listeners create a discursive space in which both his presence and the presence of other Berliners are tangible and welcome. Luft's success substantiates the contention made by radio theorists and practitioners alike, that good radio relies on voices that can really speak to their listeners and draw them into their discursive spaces, and even make them protective of that 'space' and the voices within it. This is why Friedrich Luft's radio shows were able to transcend the East-West divide.

Finally, *Radio Glasnost* is not only an exceptional example of radio technology's capacity to overcome physical, and undermine ideological, divides

but it is a broadcasting space that could not have been produced in any other spatial and political conditions. Its existence is the direct result of the West Berlin anti-establishment's willingness to see the potential in commercial radio broadcasting. The initiative 'Anderes Radio Berlin' saw it as an opportunity to break out of the public broadcasting system and claim their own space governed by other forces. It is an example of cross-border collaboration that, because of its legality in the West, was able to undermine Stasi efforts to silence it. *Radio Glasnost* lived up to its name; it forged a space in which GDR dissidents and reformers could speak up. As a form of audio samizdat, *Radio Glasnost* could reach a significantly greater number of GDR citizens (and West Berlin citizens) than the original paper versions. The discursive, Thirdspace proffered by Marenbach and her team fostered polyphony in an officially monophonic state. Just as environmental space and pollution proved less governable than the political spaces of divided Berlin (as reported by *Radio Glasnost*), *Radio Glasnost* not only outdid the Stasi but it proved a major media player in the peaceful revolution. Jahn's confident assertion that *Radio Glasnost*'s Thirdspace helped bring about the seismic spatial shift of November 1989 demonstrates the importance of the station in the city's broadcasting history. That it has, until now, been overlooked is perhaps a reflection of a misguided dismissal of both commercial and left-wing alternative radio.

The political and spatial conditions of divided Berlin from 1961–1989 constitute a case study that is unparalleled and has yielded research results that highlight how the field of radio can be both studied in isolation and applied, on an interdisciplinary level, to other subjects within the humanities. As elucidated in chapter one, spatial theory is widely used as a way into sound studies.[1] This is an entirely solid approach to sound. It is, however, not the only means with which to study sound, and, as this thesis demonstrates certainly not the only way to study broadcasting sound which differs greatly in nature and purpose from other audio. Spatial theory is, nevertheless, consulted extensively throughout this project, but its use in conjunction with sound is the result of the context; space is unavoidable when considering divided Berlin. Drawing upon the methods and theory applied within this project, similar studies into the medium can be conducted about other cities, nations or broadcasting territories

[1] See Feiereisen and Merley Hill, *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century,* 2012.

and explored in the light of variables other than space and voice. The findings of this investigation underscore how the study of radio in divided Berlin is as important as the study of literature, film, art and music.

A research variable that adds value to those of this study is the notion of mediated memory. The following considerations seek to augment the results from chapters one to five as well as pointing to the fruits new paths of analysis might bear. Mediated memory as a line of enquiry into radio in divided Berlin is particularly interesting in a post-1989 context, because collective memory-making constitutes a large part of the ongoing reunification process and it unearths the voices and reflects the spaces of the former division.

In broadcasting, memory-making starts at the in-house archive. Archives at radio stations are quite unlike those at other institutions; they receive a succession of daily enquiries from producers and editors popping in to pick up tape for their latest reports and features. Here, the constant re-use and re-presentation of archive material is much larger in volume and quicker in dissemination than at archives used primarily by academics and curators. Broadcasters' archives grow minute by broadcast-minute and their 'artefacts' are recycled again and again, incorporated into news items and anniversary features on a daily basis. Every item in a broadcaster's archive has not only already been aired, but it stands the chance of being re-aired and re-packaged, in some cases, constantly. Each time an archive item is re-aired, it is both broadcast and received in a different context. This marked difference in archival purpose and practice points to how the medium impacts space, voice and memory.

Radio is often made from archive footage; it is not only in the business of documenting events as they happen and compensating for the listeners' absence, but it also re-produces these very documents, some of which may have already been adopted as mediated memory, others just short of becoming part of a commemorative canon. For this reason, the subject of mediated memory is the logical next step following an examination of radio, space and voice in divided Berlin. Indeed, mediated memory is best approached following a study on radio from the timeframe that is being remembered.

The academic interest resulting from what Aleida Assmann refers to as the 'thawing of frozen memories'[2], with the opening of various archives since the end of the Cold War, has led to a wealth of theories and terminology. Furthermore, the significant advances in media technology and the onset of globalisation since the end of the 1980s bring into play entirely new media spaces that are very different in nature from those upon which this thesis focuses. Although radio has survived the advent of the Internet, listening habits have changed with podcasts enabling users more control over when and where they listen to programmes. There is clearly scope to investigate which spaces and voices still linger in the form of radio memory following the fall of the Wall, both today a quarter of a century later and – with the use of anniversary pieces – five, ten and twenty years after the 'Siamese city' embarked on a process of becoming one.[3] Asking how the media 'commemorates' the divided city inevitably draws upon radio pieces produced beyond the timeframe of my research; these anniversary pieces often say more about present-day discourse than that of the past.

For all the definitions of memory, be they collective, collected, individual, cultural, communicative, twilight, prosthetic or post-memory, most agree that memory is always mediated.[4] The medium may be an individual narrative passed from one generation to the next in the form of stories and family photographs, or it may be a larger narrative passed to entire generations *en masse* by city planners, museum curators and, above all, the mass media. Anton Kaes not only concedes that all memory is mediated, but warns that memories are made by the media.[5] Wulf Kansteiner makes a similar point with reference to collective memories of the Korean War, stating it has remained a forgotten war because its stories and images did not fill the media, whose column inches and broadcast schedules were pre-occupied with the aftermath of the Second World War and with Vietnam.[6]

---

[2] Aleida Assmann, 'Transformations between history and memory', *Social Research*, vol. 75, No. 1 Collective Memory and Collective Identity (Spring 2008), 49-72 (p. 61).
[3] Peter Schneider, *Der Mauerspringer* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1982), p. 7.
[4] For more on the media's role in forming memory, see Anton Kaes, Wulf Kansteiner and Astrid Erll.
[5] Anton Kaes, 'History and film: public memory in the age of electronic dissemination', in *Framing the Past: the Histiography of German Cinema and Television*, ed. by Bruce A. Murray and Christopher J. Wickham (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992) pp. 308-23 (pp. 310-11).
[6] Wulf Kansteiner, 'Finding meaning in memory: a methodological critique of collective memory studies', *History and Theory*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (May, 2002), 179-99 (p. 192).

So if the media determines what we remember, how does radio differ from television and the printed press in producing memories? Wulf Kansteiner implies there is little difference, asserting that listeners, viewers and readers forget how they consume and that radio listeners in particular, 'regularly forget the source of their memories of historical events'.[7] Kansteiner's observation is not a dismissal of the power of radio; rather it is confirmation that its influence is softer and, therefore, stronger than that of television. Andrew Crisell argues that radio is a deceptively benign medium: 'It may be precisely because it is ignored that radio is capable of strong effects, that its content can infiltrate the listener just because her [sic] conscious faculties are primarily engaged elsewhere and her defences are therefore down.'[8] How radio 'infiltrates the listener' offers a clue as to how representations of current affairs (in the form of news and longer programme items) and historical events (in the form of anniversary features) 'attach' themselves to listeners and how they become 'memories' that are both collective and mixed with individual 'real' memories of Firstspace. Kansteiner argues that 'memories are at their most collective when they transcend the time and space of the event's original occurrence' and that when 'they take on a life of their own' and become 'disembodied' they become 'omnipresent'.[9] Kansteiner's definition of collective memory is almost an exact match for one of the most compelling definitions of the radio voice as acousmatic and omnipotent (as explored in chapter four). He classes these kinds of memories as 'low intensity', a description also rather fitting for radio, as Crisell's observation about radio's ability to infiltrate when a listener's defences are down suggests.

Broadcasting media engages in two forms of memory-making: the overt act of remembrance undertaken when marking anniversaries and the transmission of events, stories and news as they happen, the sharing of experience that is not Firstspace, but Secondspace and, with time, potentially becomes Thirdspace when these 'experiences' attach themselves as 'prosthetic' memories. The former is an example of what Aleida Assmann terms 'semantic memory'; it is memory 'acquired by collective instruction',[10] some of which may not become memory but remain history. The latter is far more

[7] Kansteiner, 'Finding meaning in memory', *History and Theory*, 2002, 179-99 (p. 194).
[8] Crisell, *Understanding Radio*, 1986, p. 219.
[9] Kansteiner, 'Finding meaning in memory', *History and Theory*, 2002, 179-99 (p. 189).
[10] Aleida Assmann, 'Transformations', *Social Research*, 2008, 49-72 (p. 50).

powerful because it is not imparted as part of a patently commemorative act, but in the manner by which we usually form memories, through experience, even if that experience is not first-hand. This is an example of Assmann's appropriated 'episodic memory', memories that are experienced rather than explained, and these are particularly interesting within the context of divided Berlin's unique media space. It is useful to consider these two forms of memory making separately, starting with the first category, anniversary pieces.

Taking, for explicative purposes, a selection of anniversary features that mark the events and personalities explored in the case studies of this thesis, it is possible to demonstrate how broadcasters utilise their own archives and to assess how and whether these archives become part of our own 'personal archives'. For both the building of the Wall and John F. Kennedy's Berlin visit, pieces made to mark the recent respective fiftieth anniversaries have been chosen. For Friedrich Luft, the Deutschlandradio archives proffer pieces made to mark the centenary of his birth. *Radio Glasnost* is not yet a collective memory and there exist very few features on it, so instead features marking the tenth anniversary of the fall of the Wall have been selected.[11]

For each anniversary, there are an overwhelming number of features best classified as straight history pieces. Their purpose is to inform those who may not be aware of the anniversary being observed and to remind other listeners of the order of historical events. They consist of an unnamed narrator's voice juxtaposed with historical footage. Many are used to set the scene for longer segments that then pick apart and 'remember' or discuss how to commemorate the events in question. Some are stand-alone pieces. Just as the constant circulation of the same images of the Holocaust has been charged with dulling our responses to the atrocity,[12] a similar charge could be levelled at these pieces, which, on almost a yearly basis, repeat the same soundbites such as Ulbricht's 'Niemand hat die Absicht eine Mauer zu errichten' or Kennedy's 'Ich bin ein Berliner'. Their format is not unlike a news piece, except that they report

[11] The tenth anniversary of 9 November 1989 has been chosen instead of the twentieth because the imminent twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations hardly distinguish themselves from those in 2009. Selecting the tenth anniversary is also qualified by the fact that the radio producers and contributors who marked it would have had acute memories of 9 November 1989.

[12] See Leslie Morris, 'The sound of memory', *The German Quarterly*, Vol. 74, Sites of Memory (Autumn, 2001), 368-78 and Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997).

old news. Aleida Assmann attributes the proliferation of such anniversary pieces to a desire to reclaim the past, but approached from a practitioner's point of view, it could be argued that the media often mark anniversaries as a matter of course, treating them as 'old' news fodder to fill the 24-hour news cycle.

In August 2011, Berlin's radio stations dedicated hours to the fiftieth anniversary of the building of the Wall. The coverage included a series on the Wall as portrayed in literature and a week-long series documenting the days leading up to 13 August 1961. But the coverage also focused on the present. A phone-in show aired on Deutschlandradio Kultur on 12 August 2011 asks 'Sollte mehr an die Schrecken der Mauer erinnert werden?'[13] and cites a recent study revealing that an alarming number of German school children have no notion of the Wall: 'Es gibt sogar eine Reihe von Schülern, die glauben, die Alliierten hätten die Mauer gebaut.'[14] By far the lengthiest coverage is the 'live-to-tape'[15] broadcast of the 'Mauertotenandacht' that took place in the Chapel of Reconciliation at the Berlin Wall Memorial on Bernauer Straße. From midnight until six in the morning two days after the fiftieth anniversary, Deutschlandradio Kultur broadcast a ceremony in which the biographies of everybody who died attempting to cross the Wall are read out.[16] The unusual lack of live radio commentary, which would otherwise be the norm for a media event, might well be a mark of respect on such a solemn occasion. From a programme scheduler's point of view, it may also be a convenient alternative to the usual ARD Nachtkonzert. Broadcasting practicalities aside, the transmission of the ceremony strikes an appropriate and symbolic tone, because during the morning's early hours a little more than fifty years previously, barbed wire was being erected throughout the city.

Coverage of the official memorial ceremony attended by the then Federal President Christian Wulff, Chancellor Angela Merkel, then Berlin Mayor Klaus Wowereit and an array of other political dignitaries and journalists, is reported on in the form of news packages which, again, reveal more about the present

[13] Deutschlandradio Kultur is the successor to Deutschlandradio Berlin which was founded in 1994 as a replacement for West Berlin's RIAS and the GDR' Deutschlandsender Kultur. Audio source: Frank Meyer, 'Sollte mehr an die Schrecken der Mauer erinnert werden?', *Debatte*, Deutschlandradio Kultur, 28 August 2011, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X017298.
[14] Ibid.
[15] The ceremonies were broadcast two nights following the actual ceremony.
[16] 'Mauertotenandacht', Deutschlandradio Kultur, 15 August 2011, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X008797-801.

day than fifty years hence. For example, the focus of the coverage is the stance of a far-left faction of politicians within the political party Die Linke who claimed in a position paper the building of the Wall was a 'zwingende Notwendigkeit'. The uproar at this assertion is communicated particularly clearly in a package for the Deutschlandradio current affairs programme *Ortszeit* which asks a married couple who managed to escape to the West in the 1970s what they think of Die Linke attending the ceremony. The husband replies: 'Ich habe mich eben so aufgeregt hier, wenn ich hier sehe, dass hier die Linken einen Kranz niederlegen. Gut, wir sind eine Demokratie und die Partei ist gewählt worden, aber das ist nun irgendwie …'[17] The package does not include the end of his sentence, but instead reports how many Berliners, who in 1989 wanted to see the Wall disappear as quickly as possible, regret the haste with which it was disposed of, arguing that such statements from the Left would not arise were there more of a physical reminder of the border and the horrors that came with it. The change of views towards the Wall reported here demonstrate how the politics of mnemonic culture – how a nation chooses to mark certain events – constantly changes, both among those in power and the general public.

By contrast, radio coverage from 2013 of the fiftieth anniversary of John F. Kennedy's visit to Berlin addresses the past more than the present. One reason for this may be that President Barack Obama's state visit and speech in front of the Brandenburg Gate the previous week drew enough comparisons between a past and present President and their relationship with the Federal Republic. Another viable reason may be that, unlike the building of the Wall anniversary, Kennedy's Berlin visit is, at least in the West, remembered favourably. For many, Kennedy – even posthumously – remains a Berliner. This is demonstrated in an interview aired on the fiftieth anniversary on the show *Deutschland heute* on Deutschlandradio Kultur. The interviewee is a 93-year-old Berliner who reminisces how crowded the streets were, how her husband – a policeman – had to work that day, and how she got to speak to Kennedy on the edge of the crowd. It wraps up with her comparing Willy Brandt and Konrad Adenauer unfavourably with Kennedy in terms of charisma and attractiveness: 'Gerda Rebb: "Na. Das waren die älteren besseren Herren." Moderatorin:

[17] Claudia van Laak, 'Berlin: Mauergedenken', *Ortszeit,* Deutschlandradio Kultur, 13 August 2011, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X023349.

"Kennedy war was Flotteres?" Gerda Rebb: "Ja, genauso wie Obama.'"[18] This somewhat frivolous piece, which otherwise says very little, illustrates the fondness with which Kennedy is remembered. It captures the memories of the rapturous mood fifty years hence. It also reflects the interviewee's enduring post-War awe for the Americans, that to her they represent progression and so the memory of their appearance – in this case the appearance of Kennedy – is glorified.

Other pieces recall the sheer excitement of the day and they do so in a remarkably similar fashion to the radio reporting on the day. The Deutschlandradio Kultur show dedicated to delving into the past, *Aus den Archiven*, aired on 23 June 2013 makes extensive use of the archive footage from the RIAS and SFB coverage analysed in chapter three. Making a one-hour show out of the seven-hour report, the host centres upon the coverage rather than the day itself: 'Es ist die erste drahtlose Sendung aus einem fahrenden Auto und damit Rundfunkgeschichte.'[19] This showcasing is reminiscent of that on the day itself and, in a playful manner, the presenter even tries to transport the listeners back fifty years when she introduces the first archive clip: 'Es ist 9 Uhr 45 am 26. Juni 1963 und wir schalten nun rüber zum Tegel-Flughafen'.[20] This announcement is followed by a fade into the footage. The nostalgia is trumped by more showcasing when the presenter declares the RIAS/SFB coverage 'eine Meisterleistung, die die Kollegen damals vollbrachten.'[21] She ends the piece with the closing credits from the original footage, a nod of respect to evidently esteemed colleagues of a previous generation. This adds historical weight to the live reporting, further evidence that the day was very much a media event.

RBB Inforadio (one of the successors to SFB) take their homage to the SFB colleagues' 'Meisterleistung' a step further. Throughout the day of the fiftieth anniversary, RBB Inforadio played excerpts from the same live footage at exactly the same time of the day at which it was aired fifty years earlier.[22] These

[18] Marie Asmussen, 'Kennedy Besuch: eine 93-jährige Zeitzeugin erinnert sich', Deutschlandradio Kultur, 26 June 2013, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X120597.
[19] Margarete Wohlan, 'Ich bin ein Berliner: Vor 50 Jahren besuchte John F. Kennedy West-Berlin', Deutschlandradio Kultur, 23 June 2013, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X122765.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] RBB Inforadio, 26. Juni 2013. The RBB archives have not dedicated new archive references for the material aired on this day, but refer to the original sources stored both by them (in the SFB archive) and by Deutschlandradio (in the RIAS archive).

included the coverage of the President's arrival at Tegel at 9.45am, commentary on the speeches made at the Kongreßhalle at 11.10am, Kennedy at the Brandenburg Gate at 12.05pm, his speech in front of Schöneberger Rathaus at 1.05pm, his speech at the Freie Universität at 3.05pm, visiting US soldiers on Clayallee at 4.25pm and leaving Tegel at 5.45pm. RBB Inforadio allows their listeners to re-live the day, even if they were not alive to experience it the first time around. This is an example of an historical event that the media – in this case – considers a crucial contender for the mnemonic canon. It simply cannot be missed, and if listeners missed it in 1963, they have the opportunity to adopt a memory considered formative for West Berlin. For those who may have been outside among the throng half a century ago, the repeated reports offer a fresh, if fifty-year-old angle on the day. RBB Inforadio surrenders its schedule to commemorating Kennedy, allowing the historical footage to interrupt the present day in the manner of fragmented memories. Listening to Kennedy in pseudo-'real time' reveals a layering of sheets of time that constantly over-write space. Such treatment of other anniversaries, including the 13 August or some of the city's darker memories is unfathomable. RBB Inforadio, which is primarily a news station, makes an event out of it that reflects the difference between how news and media events are memorialised by the media. It is not unlike the way in which they were originally aired. Both the Deutschlandradio archive hour and RBB Inforadio's archive-structured day indulge in overt self-referencing that is at best nostalgic and at worst self-congratulatory. This broadcast behaviour demonstrates how significant historical events are often remembered from a particularly subjective and personal point of view. The radio stations recall what they were doing the day Kennedy was in town, just as the 93-year-old eyewitness recalls the details – both unremarkable and remarkable – of how she spent that day.

In a similar fashion, Deutschlandradio Berlin and Deutschlandradio Kultur – the successors to RIAS and Deutschlandsender – make extensive use of their archives to remember their very own radio legend, Friedrich Luft. In 2008, a two-part series aired called 'Die Stimme der Kritik – Ein Wiederhören mit Friedrich Luft', an indulgence likely to please many a nostalgic radio listener, and in 2011 the station celebrated what they refer to as Luft's one-hundredth birthday. Both of these examples exhibit a degree of wistful longing for a great voice, delivered in an exclusively reverent tone as well as with a touch of

'Westalgie'. For Luft's one-hundredth 'birthday', Deutschlandradio's first Director General Ernst Elitz is called into the studio where he reminisces how he first started to listen to Luft: 'Bin damals Schüler gewesen, als ich ihn das erste mal gehört habe. Er hat so leidenschaftlich über das Theater gesprochen.'[23] The main purpose of the interview is to report on the plaque the radio station is about to unveil at the entrance to what was originally RIAS: 'Elitz: "Jeder, der hier vorbei kommt und der dieses Haus betritt, [wird] an diesen großen deutschen Theaterkritiker erinnert." Moderatorin: "Vielleicht seine Stimme schon im Ohr hat [sic]."' Commemorating Friedrich Luft takes the form of tribute and reveals a continuing desire to let his voice resonate on air as much as it does in the memories of his listeners. If this is an example of unapologetic 'Westalgie', the fact that Luft had a strong following in the GDR, whose citizens will have their own memories of his voice, creates a strange and nostalgic mnemonic space in which listeners from either side of the Wall yearn for reminders of the other side of the Wall. Evidence of further longing can be found in the form of a seven-second soundbite in the archives where a producer has gone to the trouble to save Luft's famous valediction from his final show, the very last words he ever uttered over the airwaves on 14 October 1990, namely: 'Wir sprechen uns wieder, in einer Woche. Wie immer – gleiche Zeit, gleiche Stelle, gleiche Welle. Ihr Friedrich Luft.' The seven-second soundbite is evidence that Luft's voice still resounds inside the former RIAS building – at least within its official memory bank, the archives – regardless of whether it is re-aired or not.

The tenth anniversary of the fall of the Wall is, of all these anniversaries, perhaps the most commemorated in terms of dedicated airtime. In addition to the straight documentary pieces in which the present is not felt, there are interviews with prominent members of the GDR opposition, and live broadcasts of the official ceremonies taking place in the Bundestag and the 'Feierstunde' at the Berlin Senate. Deutschlandradio aired an interview with a former border guard who, for 25 years, stood at the Bernauer Straße border and following the fall of the Wall refused to cross into West Berlin until 1995. The short piece remarks that the former guard and Stasi officer can sometimes still be seen standing at the location of the old checkpoint, looking west. The coverage that reveals the most about how Berlin – and Germany – remembers the fall of the

[23] Ernst Elitz and Katrin Heise, 'Die Stimme der Kritik: Zum 100. Geburtstag von Friedrich Luft', 24 August 2011, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X024028.

Wall a decade later, are commentary pieces. One of these – entitled '10 Jahre Mauerfall: Die innere Einheit im Wartestand'[24] – was delivered by the West German historian Heinrich August Winkler for the Deutschlandradio Berlin show *Politisches Feuilleton*. Serious, almost stern in tone, Winkler addresses the continuing divisions in Germany, in particular the diverging 'Geschichtsbewußtsein' of both former German Republics. Interestingly from today's perspective, Winkler takes out his Western 'Zeigefinger' and bemoans what he views as a reluctance to revisit shared German history in the 'Neue Länder'. He makes it quite clear to his East German listeners that there is only one way to live without the Wall: 'Es gibt nur eine politische Kultur der Demokratie und das ist die des Westens.' He closes by chastising the East for their alleged prejudice against the West: '10 Jahre nach dem Fall der Mauer ist es an der Zeit, dem westlichen Vorurteil entgegenzuwirken.' He then claims the revolution of 1989 for the West: 'Die Ideen von 1989 waren freiheitliche Ideen in bester westlicher Tradition' stating that the West won the Cold War and that East Germans should also be proud of this fact: 'In ihrem Zeichen wurde der realexistierende Sozialismus östlicher Prägung überwunden. Die Deutschen – und zumal die Ost-Deutschen – können stolz sein auf diesen Sieg.' The use of the word Sieg fits with the historian's uncompromisingly clear view of one system replacing the other.

To counter Winkler's overtly Western view, Deutschlandradio Berlin aired a commentary piece given by Astrid Kuhlmey, an editor at the station and formerly a radio journalist on the GDR station Deutschlandsender Kultur.[25] She describes the anti-climax felt following the euphoria experienced immediately after the fall of the Wall, the melancholy that set in once it became clear that the GDR had no chance of survival: 'Die DDR sollte ihrem Namen gerecht werden und man wollte den Weg selber erproben.' She tries to depict the difficulties faced by her fellow citizens in the 'Neue Länder':

> Nun leben die Menschen in Deutschland seit zehn Jahren ohne die lange Mauer. Nicht wenige haben neue, oft auch krasse Erfahrungen gemacht, die Ost-Deutschen weitaus stärker als die West-Deutschen. Manche sind

[24] Heinrich August Winkler, '10 Jahre Mauerfall. Die innere Einheit im Wartestand', *Politisches Feuilleton*, Deutschlandradio Berlin, 1 November 1999, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ006341.
[25] Astrid Kuhlmey, 'Wochenkommentar zur Mauereröffnung vor 10 Jahren und den Folgen', *Ortszeit*, Deutschlandradio Kultur, 5 November 1999, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ043245.

von den biografischen Brüchen zerstört worden. Anderen haben sich unerwartete Türen eröffnet.[26]

She cites a recent opinion poll that shows that 14% of East Germans would like the Wall back trumped only by the West Germans, 20% of whom would reportedly like it back. Although opinion polls are at best anecdotal, the reference pinpoints the 'Mauer im Kopf' syndrome that had more or less disappeared in the coverage of the twentieth anniversary in 2009. Kuhlmey closes her commentary by challenging Winkler's view: 'Schließlich ist dieses laute journalistische Nachdenken über Defizite ein Gewinn aus demokratischen Möglichkeiten. […] Denn man sollte daran erinnern, daß auch die plötzlich offene Rede und das laute Nachdenken im Jahre 1989 dazu beigetragen haben, dass in der Nacht der 9. November die Mauer in Berlin geöffnet werden mußte.' This is a very firm 'reminder' for Winkler and the West that it was the East that brought down the fall of the Wall and that it was not a case of the West declaring victory over the failed East. With these two commentary pieces, Deutschlandradio is living up to its name and its public broadcasting remit by providing a balance of views for all of reunified Germany. This further illustrates that commemorative pieces reveal as much – if not more – about the present than the past. In this case, it highlights the conflict about ownership of political events rather than a conflict about space.

A third commentary delivers a very different voice.[27] *Kabarettist* Hans-Günther Butzko sums up the commemorative sentiments with energy and satire, and makes fun of the rose-tinted glasses approach to the anniversary: 'Wir erinnern uns, früher war alles besser. Die Welt bestand aus Gut und Böse. Hier die Mickey Maus, dort das Reich der großen Bären. Deutschland gab es als BRD und DDR und belogen wurde nur das Volk drüben. Also, jeweils.' He sheds light on the culture of blame that has developed over the past decade as two former states try to co-exist as one: 'Heute blicken wir also zurück auf einen zehnjährigen deutsch-deutschen Vereinigungsprozess. Obwohl in Zusammenhang mit der deutschen Wiedervereinigung das Wort Prozess zu verwenden, könnte auch zur Frage führen, wer ist eigentlich der Richter, wer der Angklagte? Klagen tun sie alle.' He puts his finger on the current wound and rubs salt into it: 'Aber wer zahlt am Ende die Prozesskosten? Vor Gericht immer

[26] Ibid.
[27] Hans-Günther Butzko, '10 Jahre nach dem Mauerfall: überall blühende Landschaften', Deutschlandradio Berlin, 8 November 1999, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ167647.

der Verlierer. Hat der Westen also verloren?' Like the other commentary pieces, Butzko automatically associates the tenth anniversary of 9 November 1989 with reunification a year later. That many commemorative pieces overlook the excitement of November 1989 and focus instead on the difficult aftermath indicates that that aftermath is still underway and that this particular ten-year anniversary is not entirely celebratory in nature. Of all the anniversaries selected, the tenth anniversary of the fall of the Wall recycles the least amount of archive material. Instead, commentary pieces focus on the present view of and approach to former spaces. This shows that the memories of the spaces and voices in divided Berlin and divided Germany are still more than just a memory.

The anniversary pieces considered above provide a sample that serves to highlight the clear potential for further research. They are examples of what Jan Assmann terms as 'communicative memory', an 'everyday form of collective memory'[28] which is limited temporarily (80–100 years) and is keenly guided by contemporary thought, politics and media. Assmann also distinguishes between potential and actual collective memories. Broadcasters' archives store both kinds of memory, and each actual broadcast memory is also a potential memory in that it may be re-used and re-packaged for the next big anniversary. Crucially, all of the above commemorative pieces – which vary from deferential to disparaging in tenor – are memories of divided Berlin, post 1989 and they reveal as much about the present day as the times they recall. Each radio-marked anniversary includes recollections and opinions from those who were there at the time; the grain of their voices, some only ten years older than the time they recall, others fifty years older, is a very tangible indicator of the present. As soon as radio producers can no longer call upon eye-witnesses to reminisce about the anniversary being marked, they have to rely upon their archives, and depending on how these archives are used, this moment signals the emergence of Jan Assmann's 'cultural' as opposed to 'communicative' memory. When the voices of first-hand witnesses fall silent, a connection to the present is lost and commemoration falls entirely into the hands of historians, politicians, and the media.[29]

[28] Jan Assmann, 'Collective memory and cultural identity', *New German Critique*, No. 65, Cultural History/Cultural Studies (Spring/Summer, 1995), 125-33 (p. 127).
[29] During the recent commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of the D-Day landings on 6 June 2014 BBC Radio 4's main news programmes *The World at One* and *PM* stressed

The second way in which the media makes memories is more subdued and occurs as a direct result of divided Berlin's media spaces. It could be argued that Berlin cannot have one collective memory about the period between 1961 and 1989, and that memory, like first-hand experience (or Firstspace experience), is divided. But such an assertion ignores both the Secondspace created in the ether beyond the divided Firstspace and the influence the media has on constructing our memories. If we take radio in a split space as a principal 'experiential site' of memory, the memory map of divided Berlin is much more complex than a simple East-West binary. This site is not necessarily one of exclusively lived experience. In fact, it may not represent any Firstspace experience at all; rather it is a mnemonic site that produces what Alison Landsberg defines as 'prosthetic memories'.

Prosthetic memories are not natural, lived memories, but 'derived from engagement with a mediated representation'.[30] The term prosthetic also implies that the memories are 'worn on the body'[31] meaning that they are particularly haptic and, as a result, a particularly powerful form of memory. Prosthetic also acknowledges a lack, in this case, a lack of 'real' experience. A prosthesis is an ersatz – a poor replacement – for that which is missing, that which is lost. Landsberg, who developed the concept as a way in which to approach the handed-down memories to second and third generation Holocaust survivors – suggests that prosthetic memories often mark a trauma. Like Marianne Hirsch's theory of postmemory – also developed to study the commemorative culture of the Holocaust – the connection between the individual and the memory is mediated. Within the context of divided Berlin, the trauma is the building of the Wall that severed families and communities leading to loss.

Substitutes for the 'other' side were to be found only in the broadcasting media, which could not be contained and cut-off. Although Kansteiner cautions against adopting psychoanalytical definitions of memory for collective memory, it is a notion applied by almost every other theorist on the matter. In the case of prosthetic memory, it cannot be ignored. Yet prosthetic does not only imply trauma and loss, but 'interchangeability and exchangeability'[32] which suggests that memories of a divided city are as mixed as the airwaves were, that

---

repeatedly that this would likely be the very last significant D-Day anniversary for most of its veterans. Consequently, much of the coverage focussed on these men.

[30] Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory,* 2004, p. 20.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

Berliners choose when to tune in and tune out and consequently select which artificial, second-hand, Secondspace memories to adopt and which to reject. As Landsberg argues, prosthetic memories are often more accessible than real memories, and by mixing the two, Berlin radio listeners prove to be 'part of several mnemonic communities'[33] 'blur[ring] the boundaries between individual and collective memory'.[34] This combination of memories could be considered Thirdspace memory.

Finally, Susan Sontag argues that collective memory is 'collective instruction', that it is stipulated rather than remembered.[35] Andreas Huyssen, whose concept 'twilight memory' complements Alison Landsberg's prosthetic memory, observes that if memory is based on representation that is then mediated, then it must be articulated.[36] This prerequisite to memory – articulation – points to the importance of voice, and it is the radio voice that shares the disembodied properties of prosthetic memory. Both the radio voice and prosthetic memory transcend space and, because the rightful owners are obscured, both are omnipresent. Voices, especially in the form of fragmented, even amputated soundbites 'attach' themselves to listeners just as jingles do. Kennedy's 'Ich bin ein Berliner' soundbite is no longer anchored by his body, but it is one of the resounding memories of him, and it is one that is continuously adopted, adapted and uttered for use in other contexts that reflect the present rather than the past. [37] Like prostheses, soundbites are exchangeable. There is an abundance of ready-made soundbites stored in broadcasters' archives as pre-prepared elements to be added to anniversary pieces and obituaries at will. Sometimes they come with ready-made associations, such as the archive item in Deutschlandradio's archives that includes a soundbite from Kennedy, Reagan and Obama. This stock ingredient formula is a recipe for repetition and a consequent numbing of responses, and it

[33] Kansteiner, 'Meaning in memory', *History and Theory*, 2002, 179-99 (p. 189).
[34] Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, 2004, p. 19.
[35] Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 76.
[36] Andreas Huysson, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 3.
[37] A recent example is the use of Walter Ulbricht's famous words 'Niemand hat die Absicht, eine Mauer zu errichten' to comment upon the delayed opening of Berlin's new airport. 'Niemand hat die Absicht, einen Flughafen zu errichten' found its way onto newspaper front pages, posters, leaflets and, eventually, postcards.

is up to media producers to find new voices to retain the interest of its listeners.[38]

This preliminary consideration of mediated memory not only illustrates that there is great potential for further research, it makes clear that memory as an approach to radio in divided Berlin can only be considered after thorough consideration of space and voice. Even the exploratory consideration of memory above adds to the central findings of this thesis; it reveals how the concept of prosthetic memory works differently in Berlin's divided radio space and that this distinctive space creates a very specific mediated memory. Landsberg applies her notion of prosthetic memory to temporal divides, which is how memory is usually understood. My research findings show that her concept can also be applied to spatial divides, hence the use here of the hybrid terms 'Firstspace memory', 'Secondspace memory' and 'Thirdspace memory'. Radio listeners from East Berlin, for instance, may have adopted prosthetic memories of the West via the Secondspace created by West Berlin's radio stations to compensate for their lack and loss of 'real' Firstspace experience. The same might apply for a West Berliner whose memories of the East are based more on television images and radio reports than on having spent a significant amount of time there.[39] Crucially, they will all have adopted these prosthetic Secondspace memories immediately. Ilona Marenbach describes this very same phenomenon in her interview with me, saying she was surprised how accurate her notion of East Berlin was when she finally went to East Berlin once the Wall had fallen. Her 'memories', however, had been obtained entirely via listening to the *Radio Glasnost* contributions she aired. Landsberg's original concept of prosthetic memory is intergenerational, memory passed from one generation to the next. Although that also applies to the way in which radio producers remember divided Berlin in the form of anniversary pieces, prosthetic memory

[38] Again, during the recent commemorations for the seventieth anniversary of D-Day, BBC Radio 4 broadcast what they called 'D-Day Bulletins' on their news programmes. Because not all of the original tapes of these news bulletins exist, some were aired in their original form and others were read out by actors, namely Benedict Cumberbatch, Patrick Stewart and Toby Jones. The BBC's decision to use popular voices speaks volumes about the role of the celebrity in broadcasting of the present day.

[39] Others – such as other Germans, other Europeans and those further afield will also have prosthetic memories of the city, but these memories will have been made by the BBC, CBS et al and, as a result, they will be different prosthetic memories punctuated by different soundbites. For instance, for an American, the most famous Kennedy soundbite is likely to be 'My fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.' Because my thesis focuses solely on the media space of divided Berlin, such prosthetic memories are not considered here in detail.

works differently in the divided city. The primary and most interesting transfer of memory does not occur across generations and over time, but across space, from West to East and vice versa, and this unusual mnemonic phenomenon can only be attributed to the unique way in which radio, space and voice interact in divided Berlin.

As quoted at the beginning of this thesis, Albert Einstein recognised as early as 1930 when he addressed his live and radio audience at the opening of the seventh Deutsche Funkausstellung und Phonoschau as 'Verehrte An- und Abwesende' that radio's great power is its capacity to make those absent from one space present in another space where there is potential for the listener to gain 'Secondspace experience' and to receive memories. Above all, this highlights the power of the ostensibly modest radio receiver – as depicted by Wim Wenders' ghettoblaster at the beginning of *Der Himmel über Berlin* – that can pick up signals from otherwise forbidden space. In divided Berlin, radio's ability to compensate for the absence of those on the other side of the Wall and to proffer shared, liminal spaces ultimately did a great deal to overcome the concrete and political divisions of Firstspace.

APPENDIX (I)

Verbatim transcript of an interview conducted with Roland Jahn, former founder and editor of *Radio Glasnost*, current Federal Commissioner of the Stasi archives. (Interview conducted by Esme Nicholson on 10 January 2014 in Berlin.)

Jahn: Mein Name ist Roland Jahn. Ich arbeite als Leiter der Stasi-Unterlagen-Behörde. Bin gewählt vom deutschen Bundestag als Bundesbeauftragter für die Stasi-Unterlagen und beschäftige mich mit der Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, mit der Stasi, mit der Struktur, den Methoden und der Wirkungsweise der Staatssicherheit. Darum geht es auch darum aufzuklären und dafür nutzen wir 111 Kilometer Akten, die uns die Geheimpolizei hinterlassen hat.

Nicholson: Wie ist die Sendung damals entstanden? Wie sind Sie dazu gekommen?

Jahn: Der Hauptpunkt war immer, dass es galt, der Opposition in der DDR eine Stimme zu geben. Und diese Stimme hineinzustrahlen auch wieder in die DDR. Ich hab' damals schon gearbeitet, beim Fernsehen – beim Sender Freies Berlin – damals gab es ein politisches Magazin. Dort hab ich schon versucht, als freier Mitarbeiter hier einige Informationen unterzubringen, die dann hineingestrahlt haben, in die DDR. Ich habe auch für den RIAS gearbeitet, dort immer wieder auch als Informationsgeber fungiert, dass Nachrichten in die DDR hineingestrahlt worden sind. Es galt in die DDR hineinzustrahlen aber es galt natürlich auch aufzuklären, für die Bundesbürger in ganz Deutschland aufzuklären, über die Missstände in der DDR. Und dann gründete sich im Jahr 1987 das erste unabhängige alternative Radio in Berlin, das erste Privatradio, was so etwas war wie die taz im Rundfunk, na die alternative Tageszeitung taz, das war der Sender Radio 100. Und da habe ich festgestellt, das ist auch eine Chance hier vielleicht nochmal ganz eigene, ganz andere Wege zu gehen, dass man vielleicht eine ganze Sendung macht, die sich nur mit Opposition beschäftigt, die nur, sagen wir aus dem Blickwinkel der Opposition gestaltet ist. Deswegen bin ich auf Dieter Rulff zugegangen. Er hatte parallel auch die Idee, auch angesprochen von anderen Menschen, die in der DDR Interessen hatten, so etwas zu machen und so haben wir uns gefunden. Dieter Rulff, Ilona Marenbach und ich und auch Rüdiger Rosenthal, der auch als ehemaliger

DDR-Bürger damals in West-Berlin gewohnt hat, dass wir gesagt haben, wir versuchen einmal im Monat eine Sendung zu machen, die eine authentische Stimme der DDR-Opposition darstellt, die wirklich Originaltexte und auch Originaltöne aus der DDR transportiert und dann wieder die West-Berliner informiert aber auch in die DDR und Ost-Berlin hineinstrahlt.

Nicholson: Was war genau Ihre Rolle in der Redaktion?

Jahn: Ich wollte einfach machen. Ich wollte einfach das, was ich aus der DDR an Informationen hatte, über den Rundfunk ausstrahlen. Das wichtige Anliegen, was ich hatte, war ja nicht zu warten auf die Freiheit der Information, sondern sie einfach zu nehmen. Das war mein Prinzip schon in der DDR. Nimmt ihr die Freiheit sonst kommt sie nie! Mit diesem Motto bin ich an die Sache rangegangen und ich wollte, dass die Menschen in der DDR die Chance auf Meinungs- und Informationsfreiheit dadurch mehr wahrnehmen können. Dass sie selber auch gestalten, dass sie selber auch journalistisch arbeiten vielleicht. Es gab ja keine Erfahrung in der Opposition an journalistischer Tätigkeit, an Pressefreiheit, ja. Und hier ein Stück Pressefreiheit gestalten, mit den DDR-Bürgern gemeinsam, das war eigentlich die Herausforderung. Das war eigentlich der Beginn.

Nicholson: Wie schwierig war es damit anzufangen, vor allem Materialien und Bänder über die Grenze zu bekommen?

Jahn: Das war das Besondere, Informationen aus der DDR unkontrolliert zu bekommen, so dass wir auch wirklich Informationen haben, die unkontrolliert sind. Die Sendung hieß auch ‚*Radio Glasnost* – Außer Kontrolle!' So, das wollten wir deutlich machen. Es ist nicht unter Kontrolle des Staates. Es ist Informationsfreiheit. Es ist Pressefreiheit, die wir hier wahrnehmen und die Opposition kann unkontrolliert ihre Information verbreiten. Deswegen galt es Netzwerke aufzubauen, dass die Informationen über die Grenze geschmuggelt worden sind. Das war sehr vielfältig. Es gab Diplomaten, die an der Grenze nicht kontrolliert wurden, es gab Diplomaten, die wir benutzt haben, mit ihren Kofferräumen, mit ihren Taschen, die ohne Kontrolle, die Grenze passiert haben, wo dann Texte drin waren, wo Tonbänder drin waren oder auch Videokassetten. Und diese wurden zu mir gebracht und ich habe sie dann in das Radio gebracht. Aber nicht nur die Diplomaten, auch die akkreditierten

Journalisten, die eine Grenzempfehlung hatten. Grenzempfehlung hieß, sie müssen nicht kontrolliert werden, sie konnten aber kontrolliert werden. Und Grenzempfehlung hieß, es gab keine Garantie dafür, dass sie die Grenze passieren können ohne Kontrolle. Aber das ging meistens gut und vor allen Dingen hatten wir immer die Chance, dass wir sagen konnten, die Journalisten brauchen es für ihre eigene Arbeit, so dass das Problem nicht ganz so groß gewesen wäre. Anders war es bei denen, die wir auch sozusagen im Einsatz hatten, hier die Sachen über die Grenze zu schmuggeln, bei Menschen, die einfach besuchsweise in Ost-Berlin waren, persönliche Freunde von Oppositionellen, die in West-Berlin gelebt haben, Ausländer, die in West-Berlin zu Besuch waren, die dann rüber nach Ost-Berlin gingen, und meine Freunde der Opposition besuchten, die brachten auch schon mal einen Text irgendwo versteckt am Körper mit, oder legten in ihrem Auto eine Tonbandkassette unter den Stapel der Musikkassetten, wo dann vielleicht ein Mitschnitt einer Veranstaltung in der Kirche war. Das sind alles Dinge gewesen, die natürlich wichtig waren, weil das die Substanz war, die Informationen aus der DDR aus den Kreisen der Opposition. Viel haben auch natürlich genutzt die Untergrundzeitschriften, die in der DDR gefertigt worden sind, Untergrundzeitschriften, die auch schon ein Stück kleine Pressefreiheit waren. ‚Glasnost von Unten' haben wir es genannt, die Offenheit von Unten praktiziert, wo schon in den Samizdat-Zeitschriften dort auch journalistische Texte teilweise waren. Aber das war alles durchaus auch Stückwerk. Ich glaube, es waren wirklich Anfänge von journalistischer Arbeit und man merkt es den Sendungen auch an. Es ist manchmal sehr schwerfällig gewesen. Ich hätte es mir auch weitergehender journalistisch gewünscht, ich hätte mir weniger Agitation gewünscht, ich hätte mir den journalistischen Blickwinkel auf die Sache gewünscht, aber ich denke, das ist ein Entwicklungsprozess gewesen. Es ist ein Prozess gewesen, dass die Menschen erst Mal froh waren überhaupt zu Wort zu kommen, dass sie froh waren, ihre Meinung zu transportieren, und dass sie sozusagen den journalistischen Blick dabei noch nicht hatten. Es war ja auch wichtig, dass nicht nur einzelne Meinungen gesendet werden, es war ja wichtig, dass die Pluralität gewahrt wird. Das war auch nicht immer einfach, weil in der DDR-Opposition gab es auch Streit, es gab auch Leute, die gar nicht gut fanden, dass bestimmte Blickwinkel dann in die Sendung gingen, und am liebsten hätten manche nur ihre Meinung gesendet. Aber das war etwas, was

gerade ich auch in West-Berlin sehr zu schätzen gewusst habe, den Pluralismus in der Pressefreiheit, die Vielfalt der Meinung, deswegen habe ich das immer sehr hoch gehalten und habe gut gefunden, wenn alle Meinungen in der Sendung zu Wort kamen.

Nicholson: Sie reden von dem Mangel an Pressefreiheit im Osten, aber Sie haben damals für SFB und RIAS gearbeitet sowie für die Ostseite der taz. Konnte der erste Privatfunk West-Berlins – Radio 100 – etwas anderes anbieten? Eine gewisse Freiheit? Fühlten Sie sich unabhängiger? Hat es eine andere Öffentlichkeit auch im Westen geschafft?

Jahn: Die Besonderheit von Radio 100 war, dass es ein alternativer Sender war, der auch Rundfunk nochmal neu erfinden wollte. Und so waren die Spielräume natürlich auch größer. Wenn ich zu RIAS oder zu SFB gegangen bin, dort musste ich eingepasst werden mit meinen Informationen in die Senderschema, es war schwierig auch eine längere Strecke hier zu senden, und mit Radio 100 waren es ganz andere Möglichkeiten. Bei RIAS oder SFB hätte ich diese Art nicht senden können. Diese Art war vielleicht auch gar kein Journalismus. Deswegen war es auch wichtig, dass Radio 100 hier diesen freien Raum zur Verfügung stellte, und bei RIAS und SFB wäre diese ungefilterte Stimme der Opposition so nicht sendbar gewesen. Das muss man klar und deutlich sagen. Aber wir haben es auch bewusst gesagt, als Radiomacher, hier ist eine besondere Sendung. Es ist gestaltet von Menschen aus der DDR. Die Texte werden so wie sie bei uns angekommen sind, gesendet. Das ist das, was an Positionen vertreten wird. Das war schon manchmal sehr grottig, das war schon manchmal an der Grenze der Konsumierbarkeit für einen Rundfunkhörer, aber wir haben ja natürlich schon die Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten gehabt, dass wir die verschiedenen Wortbeiträge mit Musik unterbrochen haben, dass wir dafür gesorgt haben, dass eine Abwechslung da war, zwischen Verlesen und Texten und Mitschnitten von Veranstaltungen. All das hat das Ganze ein bisschen aufgelockert, aber ich hätte mir noch mehr gewünscht, dass der journalistische Blick auch bei den Oppositionellen da gewesen wäre, zum Beispiel die Form des konfrontativen Interviews, die wurde überhaupt nicht praktiziert, ich glaube einmal ist das gelungen, ein Interview mit Igor Tatschke, einem Künstler, aber ansonsten hat mir das Interview als journalistische Form sehr gefehlt.

Nicholson: Sie haben sich quasi als Medium verstanden und 'Außer Kontrolle' hieß auch, dass Sie auch keine Kontrolle geübt haben. Also Dieter Rulff hat vom Vertrauen innerhalb der Bürgerbewegung der DDR gesprochen. Wäre es überhaupt anders möglich gewesen?

Jahn: Es waren ein gegenseitliches Vertrauen und das war durchaus da. Das war auch meine Rolle und die von Rüdiger Rosenthal, später Alfred Kowasch, die hier Mitsorge getragen haben, dass ja sich die DDR-Oppositionellen nicht fremdbestimmt gefühlt haben und es gab Vertrauen uns gegenüber, aber natürlich galt es auch Vertrauen den Oppositionellen gegenüber zu haben, denn wir konnten nicht nachrecherchieren, stimmen die Informationen? Ist es wirklich wahr, dass es dort und dort eine Verhaftung gab? Das war etwas, wo wir uns praktisch auf unsere Informanten verlassen mussten. Natürlich haben wir die journalistischen Prinzipien der zweiten Quelle usw. auch noch versucht, anzuwenden, aber es war schon etwas, was besonders war. Dieses gegenseitige Vertrauen, was die Grundlage unserer Arbeit war.

Nicholson: Wie schwierig war es, festzustellen, ob das, was Ihr bekommen habt, authentisch war oder nicht oder ob sich da die Stasi eingemischt hat?

Jahn: Selbstverständlich haben wir uns auch Gedanken gemacht, aber das war natürlich schon auch etwas was aufgebaut hat, auf persönlicher Freundschaft, was aufgebaut hat, auf Vertrauen, was über lange Jahre entwickelt worden ist und deswegen war es auch möglich mit der Information so umzugehen, dass wir da teilweise eins zu eins senden konnten.

Nicholson: Wie fanden Sie damals die Kommentare und Anmoderation von Ilona Marenbach?

Jahn: Wir haben durchaus oft darüber gesprochen. Es war ja nicht so, dass Ilona vollkommen losgelöst war von dem, was der Background in der DDR war. Natürlich hat sie ihren eigenen Stil gehabt, natürlich hat sie ihre eigene Sicht auf die Dinge gehabt, auch als jemand, der in West-Berlin gelebt hat. Aber wir haben auch gut gesprochen miteinander und ich habe als Brücke fungiert, zwischen den Oppositionellen und ihr, aber mit Dieter Rulff an der Seite als Redakteur waren wir insgesamt ein gutes Team und klar habe ich auch die Moderationen noch gelesen, und bei bestimmten Dingen auf einzelnen Punkte

hingewiesen aber entscheidend war, dass es auch sehr stark subjektiv gefärbt von Ilona Marenbach war, die ihre eigene Sicht auf die Dinge präsentiert hat, und mir hat es sehr gefallen. Mir hat es sehr gefallen, weil sie auch so eine Brücke zwischen Ost und West war, und auch Ilona durchaus mit einem professionellen Anspruch an die Sache gegangen ist, die sie sehr sehr gut gemacht hat und sie wurde gemocht in Ost-Berlin. Gerade auch ihre Art und Weise, wie sie das gemacht hat.

Nicholson: Inwiefern war die Sendung auch für West-Berliner gemeint? Haben Sie damals überhaupt Interesse an der DDR-Bürgerbewegung auf der westlichen Seite der Mauer gespürt?

Jahn: Es gab schon in West-Berlin doch auch vielerlei Interesse an dem, was in Ost-Berlin passiert ist. Und viele sind ja nach Ost-Berlin zu Besuch rüber, sind ins Theater gegangen oder haben sich sonst wie vergnügt. Also das war schon die Besonderheit von West-Berlin, die so eine Sendung möglich gemacht hat. Das wäre in West-Deutschland vielleicht nicht so gelungen, aber West-Berlin hatte schon immer auch durch die tägliche Konfrontation mit der Mauer eine ganz andere Offenheit gegenüber der DDR und es haben auch viele Ex-DDR-Bürger in West-Berlin gelebt, die auch dankbar waren, für jede Information, die sie aus dem Ostteil der Stadt bekommen haben. Ob diese Sendung immer verständlich war, das ist eine andere Frage und da habe ich auch die Defizite gesehen. Das war bei der Ost-Berlinseite der taz ähnlich. Da war auch das Problem, dass oft die Texte so geschrieben waren, dass sie schwer verständlich waren, für außenstehende West-Berliner, aber da konnten wir ein bisschen redigieren, Texte lesbar machen, während hier im Rundfunk war es etwas schwieriger. Anderseits war es manchmal nur die Dokumentation von Veranstaltungen aus Ost-Berlin und so wie ein West-Berliner in einer Kirche wie die Gethsemane Kirche zum Beispiel geht zu einer Veranstaltung und dort etwas exotisches erlebt, so waren auch die Mitschnitte der Veranstaltungen im Rundfunk für denjenigen, der in West-Berlin dann diese Veranstaltung verfolgt hat, auch etwas exotisch, wo er nicht alles verstanden hat, aber mit Interesse zugehört hat.

Nicholson: Wussten Sie damals, was für eine Resonanz Sie in der DDR unter den Bürgern hatten? In der Presse und bei der Stasi war es schon klar.

Jahn: Man kann es nicht genau sagen, wie die Resonanz war. In der oppositionellen Szene war die Resonanz sehr, sehr positiv. Das war ein wichtiges Forum, was regelmäßig eingeschaltet worden ist, und man es auch aufgenommen hat auf Tonbändern, Kassetten und hat es transportiert in die Regionen, wo der Sender nicht empfangbar war. Das war schon etwas Besonderes eine Kassette zu bekommen von *Radio Glasnost* und sie dann zum Beispiel in Karl-Marx-Stadt oder Leipzig sich anzuhören. Ich glaube, hier ist ein Stück Pressefreiheit praktiziert worden, was wichtig war, auch für Menschen, dann in der DDR weiterzumachen, gerade auch mit den Samizdat-Zeitschriften oder in anderer Form Meinungen auszutauschen. Und ja, sich ein Stück Freiheit zu nehmen.

Nicholson: Und es hat sich nach der Wende ein Mitarbeiter aus der größeren Redaktion enttarnt, als Stasi-Mitarbeiter. Waren Sie damals überrascht?

Jahn: Mir war ja klar, die Stasi wird auch in West-Berlin auch bei Radio 100 einen Blick reinwerfen, und in dem Sinne war ich nicht überrascht, dass in diesem Umfeld jemand versucht hat, Informationen an die Stasi zu geben. So dolle war das ja nicht auf der einen Seite, entscheidend war für mich immer, dass die Sendung nicht verhindert wird, dass wir ausstrahlen können. Aber, das hat sich auch gezeigt, selbst da hat die Stasi es versucht, und es auch gelungen ist, massiv hier wirklich einzugreifen, und das war schon eigentlich ein Konflikt von internationaler Tragweite, dass hier die Vereinbarungen über das Ausstrahlen von Rundfunksendungen, die international getroffen sind, gebrochen worden sind, und der Sender Radio 100 gestört worden ist. Dass durch Sender aus der DDR unter Kontrolle der Stasi hier versucht worden ist, diese Sendung zu unterbinden.

Nicholson: Wie fanden Sie die Reaktion der Stasi?

Jahn: Das war schon eine Gefährdung der deutsch-deutschen Beziehung. Das war schon hohe Politik, die da stattfand und ich glaube, es war wichtig, dass die Politik da zur Seite gesprungen ist, und das war eine Voraussetzung dafür, dass die Sendung weitergehen konnte.

Nicholson: Wie haben Sie sich die Musik ausgewählt?

Jahn: Uns ging es auch darum, dass wir mit der Musik den Nerv des Ostens treffen. Das hieß nicht irgendwie nur Ostrock spielen, sondern das hieß schon auch Westmusik, die symbolisch steht für die Befindlichkeit der Menschen in der DDR, die auch durchaus eine gewisse Dynamik in die Sendung bringt, also für mich war das schon immer bedeutsam, wenn ich mir überlegt habe, wie es ist, wenn ich einen Aufruf für einen Boykott mache und danach einen harten Hardrocktitel kam. Das kriegt dann plötzlich eine besondere Kraft. Das hat doch etwas Besonderes, wenn man sich überlegt, dass die Menschen das zu Hause oder am Autoradio verfolgten. Mir selbst ging ja so, dass ich immer eine Sendung im Autoradio verfolgt habe, und da habe ich immer gemerkt, dass es ganz anders ist, als das Miterleben im Studio. Und hab dann auch begriffen, dass man auch sehr vorsichtig sein muss, mit dem, was man macht, damit wir niemandem sagen, in eine Stimmung bringen, dass er dann losrennt und auch eine politische Aktion macht, sondern dass es darum geht, sorgsam mit den Informationen und der Gestaltung der Sendung umzugehen. Was mir aber noch zusätzlich wichtig war, war natürlich auch, dass wir bei der Musikwahl beachtet haben, gerade auch die Bands, die in der DDR als unabhängig, als nicht staatlich geförderte Bands sich etabliert haben. Herbst in Peking, zu Beispiel. Oder auch andere Bands, die andere politische Dimensionen hatten, die auch mal Texte gesungen haben, die sonst nirgendwo gesendet worden wären. Das war mir auch ein Anliegen, hier diesen Bands ein Podium zu geben, und deutlich zu machen, auch in der Musikszene gibt es politischen Widerstand.

Nicholson: Gibt es Sendungen an die Sie sich heute noch sehr gut erinnern?

Jahn: Ich erinnere mich natürlich an die erste Sendung, als es losging, als wir, begleitet auch von der Sendung Kontraste im Fernsehen, die sogar über *Radio Glasnost* berichtet haben, dann gestartet sind. Das war schon sehr aufregend, das erste Mal als Ilona Marenbach verkündete '*Radio Glasnost* – Ausser Kontrolle' und dann ging es los. Es war das, was ich mir immer gewünscht habe, die Opposition der DDR hat eine Stimme im Rundfunk und strahlt über Ost-Berlin. Und natürlich die letzte Sendung. Die letzte Sendung bleibt in Erinnerung, weil es auch eine ganz symbolische Sendung war. Denn sie fand Ende November statt, als die Mauer schon offen war und die Frage, die wir hatten, brauchen wir die Sendung noch? Brauchen wir noch eine Stimme für

die Opposition, die wir über die Grenze schmuggeln. Brauchen wir noch eine Pressefreiheit, was wir jemandem geben mit Hilfe der Sendung *Radio Glasnost*. Und uns war klar, irgendwo hat die Sendung ihr Soll erfüllt. Irgendwo hat sie das geleistet, was wichtig war und hat denn auch beigetragen zum Fall der Mauer. Und deswegen war das ein symbolischer Akt, dass Vertreter verschiedener Oppositionsgruppen im Studio in der Potsdamer Straße in Berlin-Schöneberg saßen, und diskutiert haben, über die weitere Entwicklung in der DDR und das war für mich eigentlich ein Ausdruck des Mauerfalls nochmal in dieser Sendung. Und das geht mir auch heute noch emotional nah, wenn ich daran denke, dass wir dort gemeinsam in einem Studio saßen und wir den Fall der Mauer und die friedliche Revolution gefeiert haben.

APPENDIX (II)

Verbatim transcript of an interview with Dieter Rulff, former editor-in-chief of *Radio Glasnost* and co-founder of Radio 100. (Interview conducted by Esme Nicholson on 13 December 2013 in Berlin.)

Nicholson: Warum fanden Sie es 1987 nötig, einen neuen Radiosender zu gründen?

Rulff: Man muss da ein Stück weit auf die medienpolitische Situation der damaligen Zeit eingehen. 1984 wurde in der Bundesrepublik zum ersten Mal privater Rundfunk und privates Fernsehen zugelassen und da stürzten sich natürlich auf die freiwerdenden Frequenzen zunächst die größeren Konzerne. Es bildeten sich Unternehmens-Zusammenschlüsse, die eine Radiolizenz beantragten. Wir und einige Initiativen, die aus dem linksliberalen und linken Mileau kamen, sagten uns, warum sollten wir uns nicht auch mal um eine Radiofrequenz kümmern, zumal wir uns mit dem Medium auseinandergesetzt hatten und haben uns dann zusammengetan und haben versucht, Geldgeber zu finden, was uns teilweise geglückt ist, nicht im erwünschten Umfang, und haben dann eine Lizenz beantragt, die uns tatsächlich gegeben wurde, zunächst für sechs Stunden, später wurde das auf 24 Stunden erweitert und haben dann ein Gebäude gesucht und praktisch eine Radio-Station aufgebaut. So sind wir dazu gekommen.

Nicholson: Sie waren auch zusammen mit Hundert,6 der erste Privatsender West-Berlins. Was hat Privatradio erlaubt, was vielleicht beim öffentlichen Radio – bei RIAS oder SFB nicht möglich war?

Rulff: Wenn man sich die Situation in den 80er Jahren in West-Berlin vor allen Dingen vergegenwärtigt, war die Rundfunklandschaft ungefähr so gegliedert. Es gab den RIAS als eher konservativen Radio-Sender. Es gab den Alliiertensender AFN, der stark musik-geprägt war und es gab den SFB, den Sender Freies Berlin, der Mitte-links, aber sehr klassisch berlinerisch war. Was nicht repräsentiert wurde – unserer Meinung nach – war ein sich Mitte der 80er Jahre stark ausbreitendes Sub-Mileau von Basis-Initiativen, Schwulenbewegung, Frauenbewegung. Es gab eine große Musikszenerie in Kreuzberg vor allem damals schon Kellermusik, Punkmusik. Die fanden dort alle nicht die Resonanz, die sie sich natürlich erhofft haben und für die sagten

wir, wir bilden einfach ein neues Medium. Wir geben die Möglichkeit, die Stadt kulturell und im Rundfunk zu bereichern, damit auch diese alternativen, Underground, was auch immer genannten Stimmen eine Sendung haben.

Nicholson: Und *Radio Glasnost* – die Sendung – wie ist die entstanden?

Rulff: Es war natürlich eine sehr sonderbare Konstellation, dass wir als Sender in West-Berlin weit in die DDR ausstrahlen konnten, über ganz Ost-Berlin hinweg in die DDR hinein. Und wir haben uns gesagt, diese Gelegenheit, diese technische Gelegenheit und Möglichkeit müssen wir nützen, natürlich auch für oder über die DDR was zu berichten. Was wir nicht machen wollten, und was wir wahrscheinlich nicht machen konnten, war die klassische Berichterstattung: Man schickt einen Korrespondenten hin, dessen Beiträge dann mehr und minder zensiert werden, oder kontrolliert werden auf jeden Fall, der dann zurückkommt und über die offizielle Politik der DDR berichtet im Westen. Das gab's genug schon beim RIAS, auch beim SFB und in ganz guter Qualität. Wir sagten, es gibt in Ost-Berlin genau so viele wie in West-Berlin Gruppen, Minoritäten, Oppositionelle, die dort erst recht überhaupt kein Organ haben, gar keine Stimme haben, die verfolgt werden teilweise. Wir müssen versuchen, ihnen eine Stimme zu geben und zwar nicht so sehr, dass wir über sie für die West-Berliner informieren – das kann natürlich auch ein ‚Side-Effect' sein, sondern dass wir ihnen eine Stimme geben, dass sie den Ost-Berliner, den Ost-Deutschen gegenüber, den Bürger der DDR über erheben können. Dazu ist dieses technische Medium Radio wunderbar geeignet, weil es grenzenlos ist. Es kann nicht kontrolliert werden. Und diese Gedanke hat uns dann dazu gebracht, uns zusammenzusetzten und zu gucken, wie machen wir das? Und da war eine glückliche Fügung, dass ich damals den Roland Jahn kennenlernte, der war aus der DDR, kam aus Oppositionsbewegung. Wir haben uns dann zusammengesetzt und haben gesagt, wie machen wir das? Und dann war klar, wenn wir das so machen, dann müssen wir erst mal drüben in der Szene Vertrauen schaffen. Die müssen wissen, dass wenn sie praktisch uns als Sender nützen, dass sie genügend möglichst kontrollieren können, was und wie abgesendet wird, wie abgestrahlt wird. Dass sie auch das Gefühl haben, das ist ihr Sender und ihre Sendung. Das heisst, wir haben von Anfang an gesagt, wir strahlen die Sendung so, dass wir gucken, die Beiträge aus Ost-Berlin zu organisieren, dass wir uns praktisch mehr oder minder als technische Mittler

oder Vermittlungs-Instanz begreifen, die denen die Beiträge, wenn sie kommen, technisch aufbereiten, sendefähig machen, und dann aber ohne Kommentierung, ohne Schnitt und ohne Bearbeitung, die ja auch als politische Einflussnahme hätte gelten können, absenden, wieder in die DDR hinein. Das war, glaube ich, die Grundlage, auf der überhaupt Vertrauen entwickelt werden konnte und mit diesem Konzept haben wir dann zwei, drei Jahre erfolgreich gesendet.

Nicholson: Wie schwierig war es tatsächlich Bänder über die Grenze zu bekommen und dann auch andersrum?

Rulff: Wir haben es ziemlich strikt arbeitsteilig gemacht. Das heisst, es gab immer verschiedene Möglichkeiten, nur wie die unkontrolliert über die Grenze gehen konnten, das heisst mit Diplomatengepäck oder Journalistengepäck, wo man wusste, die werden nicht kontrolliert oder es war relativ risikolos, wenn die die Grenze wechseln. Bei Privatpersonen wäre so was schwierig gewesen, weil natürlich alles strafbar war und spätestens nachdem wir da politischen Aufbruch in der DDR verursacht haben, war klar, wenn die Verbindung von denjenigen, die dort senden oder dort produzieren quasi uns irgendwie nachweisbar würde, wären die in einer erheblichen Gefahr, dass sie eine Strafverfolgung und unter Umständen der Haft ausgesetzt würden. Das heisst, wir mussten es relativ klandestin organisieren, das haben wir auch gemacht. Die Leute, die drüben waren, die haben die Sendung produziert, teilweise haben sie auch nur Texte geschrieben und wir haben sie dann eingesprochen, damit die Stimmen nicht erkennbar wurden. Die wurden dann wiederum von anderen Personen über die Grenze geschafft, und die haben diese Beiträge dann bei uns abgeliefert. Und wir haben die Texte dann praktisch nur technisch aufbereitet, so dass sie sendefähig wurden. Haben aber inhaltlich wenig Einfluss darauf genommen, was manchmal etwas schwierig war, weil die Beiträge nicht unbedingt dem Sendestandard – sag ich mal – entsprochen hat. Das waren teilweise lange Sätze die mal geschrieben wurden, waren teilweise umständliche Sachen. Da haben wir aber die Finger von gelassen und sagten, wir machen es sozusagen Originalton, nur Originalton. Das wird von denen so gewollt und so ist es verabredet. Und das funktionierte auch meistens. Es gab eine Schwierigkeit immer dabei, es war die Frage, ist die Quelle von der wir das kriegen, authentisch? Das heisst wird uns nicht unter Umständen etwas

untergeschoben, von einer Quelle, die irgendwie Verbindung zur Stasi hat, um den Sender zu denunzieren und zu disavorieren Wir hatten zum Beispiel Beiträge, bei denen wir gehört haben, dass da ziemliche Kenntnis der wirtschaftlichen Situation oder der Lage in den Großkombinaten vorherrschte, bei denjenigen, die fabriziert haben. Wir haben uns gefragt, wie konnten die Leute daran gekommen sein. Oder sind es jetzt getürkte Zahlen, über den Zustand der Kombinate. Da war in einem Beitrag die Situation der Kombinate relativ realistisch dargestellt worden, nämlich dass sie ziemlich schlecht war. Wir fragten uns natürlich, wir kommt jemand an solche Daten? Wir haben lange überlegt, ob wir das dann abstrahlen oder nicht. Haben uns dazu entschlossen, die Daten waren tatsächlich authentisch, weil diejenigen, die das gemacht hatten, hatten Verbindung zu den Büros dieser Kombinate, aber das war immer genau diese Unwägbarkeit, dass wir nie genau wussten, ist es jetzt tatsächlich richtig, oder ist da eine Ente untergeschoben.

Nicholson: Und es wurde nach der Wende entdeckt, dass sich ein Stasi-Agent in der Redaktion befunden hat. Stimmt das?

Rulff: Ja. Er hat sich hinterher enttarnt, nachdem die Mauer gefallen war und die Sendung praktisch eingestellt wurde. Als alles vorbei war, hat er sich uns gegenüber offenbart, und hat gesagt, er hat für die Stasi gearbeitet. Wir haben das jetzt nicht so schlimm gefunden, weil wir ja in West-Berlin nicht direkt bedroht waren. Man musste damit rechnen, dass jemand darüber berichtet, und es ging auch aus Dokumenten, die wir im Nachhinein gelesen haben, hervor, dass eine Quelle bei uns gehockt haben muss. Ich fand es gut, dass derjenige sich offenbart hat, und ich bin ihm danach nicht gram gewesen deshalb, aber man merkte schon, dass die Stasi da doch sehr erregt war, wegen dessen, was wir taten.

Nicholson: Ja, es hätte mich auch gewundert, wenn sie das nicht versucht hätten. Aber hatte das damals – jetzt im Nachhinein – einen Einfluss auf Ihre Sendungen überhaupt? Dieser eine Stasi-Spitzel. Weil eine gewisse redaktionelle Arbeit haben Sie doch geleistet, wie Sie schon erwähnt haben, insofern, dass Sie schon geguckt haben, was die Quellen waren, wo sie hergekommen sind und sollte man sie abstrahlen.

Rulff: Nein. Er hatte selber mit der Produktion der Sendung überhaupt nichts zu tun. Er war halt in der Redaktion und bekam da natürlich mit, was wir diskutierten, aber bekam nicht mit, wer die Bänder oder die Materialien von Ost- mit nach West-Berlin transportierte. Diese Sachen haben wir natürlich innerhalb des Senders auch nicht öffentlich gemacht. Da war der Kreis der Leute, die Bescheid wussten, sehr klein. Also es waren vier bis sechs Augen nur.

Nicholson: Und die Quellen auf der anderen Seite der Grenze: Waren das auch Kontakte durch Herrn Jahn?

Rulff: Die Kontakte wurden hergestellt über Leute, also Oppositionelle aus der DDR, die nach West-Berlin gekommen waren. Das war bezogen auf Ost-Berlin zum Großenteil durch Roland Jahn, das war bezogen auf Leipzig durch einen Kollegen, der Fred Kowasch, der da Verbindung herstellte zu Leuten, die in Leipzig in der Opposition waren. Über den haben wir zum Beispiel organisiert, die erste Tonberichterstattung über die erste Leipziger Demonstration Anfang September 1989 war das, als sozusagen man im West-Deutschen Rundfunk und Fernsehen noch gar nichts davon wusste und auch noch nicht ahnte, was da sich anbahnte in Leipzig. Da von dem Montag hat ein wagemutiger Mensch von dort aus zu uns in die Sendung reintelefoniert, und berichtet, was da gleich an dem Abend passiert war. Das war natürlich brisant. So sind die Kontakte zustande gekommen und so war auch der Vertrauens-Schutz gewährleistet.

Nicholson: Da Sie vielleicht mehr wussten als RIAS oder SFB und die anderen West-Deutschen Sender, vor allem über die Bürgerbewegung und Oppositionellen, waren Sie überrascht, als die Mauer 1989 fiel? Sie und die anderen Mitarbeiter *Radio Glasnosts*?

Rulff: Ich war weniger überrascht, als ich überrascht gewesen wäre, hätte ich *Radio Glasnost* nicht gemacht. Hätte ich *Radio Glasnost* nicht gemacht, hätte ich mich vorher mit der DDR und Oppositionsbewegung überhaupt nicht beschäftigt, dann wäre ich natürlich völlig überrascht gewesen, wie die meisten anderen in West-Berlin auch und wie die meisten Politiker, die wenig erahnten und die meisten gingen davon aus, die Mauer wird noch ewig sein. Alle, die das Gegenteil behaupteten, das waren eher so Wortbekundungen von konservativen Politikern, die eigentlich nichts politisch zu sagen haben. Ich hatte schon 1987 ein Gespräch mit Jürgen Fuchs, der darauf hinwies, dass die

DDR so instabil ist, dass es nicht mehr länger halten würde. Man hat natürlich einen genauen Blick dafür bekommen, was ist die Entwicklung in West-Berlin, wie verändert sich die Sowjetunion als nicht nur Schutzmacht aber auch als Kontroll- und Repressionsmacht in der DDR und wie spielt es zusammen und wie stabil wird das Regime. Es gab eine Phase Anfang 1988 nach der Rosa-Luxemburg-Demonstration, wo Oppositionelle ausgewiesen worden sind, da gab es schon eine große Ausreisewelle in der DDR, die destabilisierte das System. Und man dachte schon, wie kriegen sie das in den Griff. Die haben es aber in den Griff gekriegt, teilweise Ende 1988, Anfang 1989 war dann für die Oppositionsbewegung eine Phase der Depression und eine Phase, wo man sich eher nach Innen kehrte und wenig offensiv wurde. Und dann Anfang 1989 ansteigend mit den Kommunalwahlen im Mai, da merkte man, dass immer mehr Leute sich engagierten, die bereit waren, etwas zu riskieren, da waren sehr viel Leute bereit, mit ihrer Stimme sich im Sender kenntlich zu machen, sich interviewen zu lassen oder Beiträge zu sprechen, Kommentare sogar zu sprechen. Spätestens als die Ausreisen über Ungarn organisiert wurden, war mir zumindest klar, das hält sich nicht mehr. Das System ist hier zu Ende.

Nicholson: Ich möchte zurück auf die Resonanz der Sendung gehen – im Westen sowie im Osten. Haben Sie Meinungen oder Vorurteile über die DDR unter den West-Berlinern geändert durch Ihre Sendung?

Rulff: Das glaube ich nicht. Man muss sich die Situation, die politische damals, vergegenwärtigen, vor allem in West-Berlin. West-Berlin war eine sehr strikt gegliederte Stadt-Gesellschaft. Da gab es zum Beispiel ein richtig konservatives, noch in der Tradition des Kalten Krieges mit der Blockade groß gewordenes Bürgertum, was die Meinungsführer anscheinend in der Stadt noch hatten. Es gab ein großes, linkes, studentisches, alternatives Milieu, was aber eher ein Verhältnis zur DDR hatte, was ein Null-Verhältnis war. Entweder interessierte es die nicht, was jenseits der Mauer passiert ist, außer dass man da billig einkaufen konnte oder sie sagten, sie sympathisierten sogar mit der DDR, sagten zwar mit Vorbehalt, es ist irgendwie ein sozialistisches System, dem man immer noch wohlwollend gegenüber steht, von dem man sich alles erhoffen kann. Eine linke linksliberale Position, die subversiv auch gegen die DDR vorgeht, wie wir das gemacht haben, die war relativ singulär. Das heisst, wir wurden sowohl von Linken in West-Berlin angegriffen und angefeindet, was

wir mit der Sendung wollten, und ob wir jetzt hier den Frieden stören wollten, als auch wurden wir – weil wir eben linksliberal waren – von dem bürgerlichen Mainstream angefeindet. Die fanden zwar die Attacken gegen die SED prima, sagten es aber nicht öffentlich, weil sie natürlich öffentlich nicht einen linksalternativen Sender unterstützen wollten.

Nicholson: Wie war die Resonanz in Ost-Berlin, wenn Sie es überhaupt mitbekommen haben?

Rulff: Es war uns klar von Anfang an, dass wir gehört werden, aber es wird sich keiner dazu bekennen, indem er sich am Telefon oder per Post bei uns meldet. Das wäre viel zu risikant gewesen, und das haben wir auch nicht erwartet.

Nicholson: Ich weiß, Roland Jahn wurde von der Stasi bespitzelt. Wurden Sie auch beobachtet, außer in der Redaktion von diesem Spitzel?

Rulff: Ich weiß jetzt im Nachhinein aus Akten, dass ich beobachtet wurde, genauso wie die Moderatorin Ilona Marenbach. Wir hatten das von Anfang an so organisiert, dass ich quasi der öffentliche Kopf der Sendung bin. Also jeder weiß, das man die Sendung mit meinem Namen verbindet. Dadurch war für mich klar, dass ich nicht mehr einreise in die DDR, weil es zu risikoreich gewesen wäre. Und wusste aber gleichzeitig die Möglichkeiten, meiner habhaft zu werden oder mich zu kontrollieren sind natürlich begrenzt, ausser wie gesagt der eine Stasispitzel, aber auch der würde wenig mitkriegen, weil der Kreis der Produzenten der Sendung relativ klein war. Wir konnten die Stasi ärgern aber wir waren so der klassische mediale David, der gegen den Goliath kämpft, und der Goliath konnte nicht über die Mauer springen.

Nicholson: Waren Sie überrascht über die Pressereaktion sowohl im Westen als auch im Osten?

Rulff: Ich war zunächst überrascht über die erste Reaktion staatlicherseits der DDR auf die Sendung. Wir waren ja kaum drei Monate auf Sendung, hatten dann die Januar-Ereignisse 1988 berichtet, haben ja die Leute im O-Ton zu Wort kommen lassen, also über die Ausbürgerung der Bürgerrechtler [Stephan] Krawczyk und andere wie [Bärbel] Bohley und kurz danach kamen dann die ersten Kommentare und zwar in Moskau über die Agentur TASS und die wurden dann wiederum aufgenommen im *Neuen Deutschland* im Zentralorgan

der SED und in anderen Zeitungen. Da wurden wir wüst beschimpft als Störer der sozialistischen Staatengemeinschaft als Imperialisten und Störer des Friedens. Also übelst beschimpft. Und auf diese Welle der Beschimpfung folgte eine kurze Zeit später die ersten Störsendungen. Und das ist natürlich eine ziemlich harte Keule, ziemlich große Keule, die da die Stasi geschwungen hat, weil damit hat sie – wusste sie auch – internationale Abkommen wie das Postabkommen verletzt. Das besagt ja, dass jeder Staat auf seiner Frequenz seine Sender ausstrahlen kann und bloß weil es ins andere Land reinstrahlt, es deshalb nicht verboten ist. Und diese Verletzung internationaler Abkommen, dass die Stasi das riskiert hat, dass die DDR das riskiert hat, nur um zu vermeiden, dass wir bestimmte Beiträge noch aus Berlin abstrahlen. Das hat uns sozusagen eine Bedeutung öffentlich gegeben, von der wir vorher nicht gedacht haben. So diese Bestätigung durch die Stasi fanden wir erstmal ganz toll, denn sie verschaffte uns natürlich ein enormes Maß an Publizität. Wir kamen in die Zeitungen, wir kamen in anderes Radio, ins Fernsehen und da wurde berichtet und natürlich weil die Leute auch Westfernsehen guckten und Westrundfunk hörten, merkte denn jeder, aha, das ist die Sendung, da wird ja brav berichtet. Das ist die Sendung, die kommt jeden letzten Montag im Monat, um die und die Uhrzeit. Das heisst, jeder in Ost-Berlin, der wusste, der konnte sich denn darauf einstellen und ab diesen Zeitpunkt auch die Sendung hören. Das heisst, es war eigentlich eine enorme Propagandamaßnahme für uns.

Nicholson: Wie Sie schon erläutert haben, das Ziel der Redaktion war nicht, sich einzumischen. Sie haben sich als Medium verstanden. Wie leicht war das für Sie als verantwortlicher Redakteur, sich nicht einzumischen?

Rulff: Die Leute, die da drüben die Sendung gemacht haben, die Beiträge gemacht haben, die kannten uns nicht. Die wussten über wen es nach Westen kommt. Und sie mussten die unbedingte Garantie haben, dass das was sie da machen, weil sie damit natürlich teilweise große Risiken damit eingegangen sind, so passiert, wie sie sich das vorstellen. Und daran haben wir uns strikt gehalten. Das heisst, wir haben auch langatmige Beiträge übernommen, obwohl wir gedacht haben, das ist eigentlich nicht hörbar. Es gab eine relativ berühmte Schrift, die nannte sich ‚Absage an Praxis und Prinzip der Abgrenzung' und war von Ost-Deutschen Evangelischen Synodalen formuliert

worden, die haben wir darüber gekriegt auf einer Synode aus Ost-Berlin, als jemand diesen Text vorlas und vor ihm in der Reihe einer hockte mit einem Mikrophon und ihn aufnahm. Derjenige, der das vorlas, also der Synode, wusste nicht, dass er aufgenommen wurde, war aber damit geschützt. Derjenige, der das aufgenommen hat, hat uns die Sachen rüberbringen lassen und wir haben den Text so wie ihn der Synode abgehalten haben, abgestrahlt. Das heisst, alle waren relativ sicher. Das Produkt war natürlich aus Radiogesichtspunkten schwer hörbar. Also wenn jemand einen Lesetext, vor allem eine synodale Ansprache hält, das ist schon harte Kost. Wir haben uns trotzdem zurückgehalten und nicht gekürzt und nicht verändert. Die Frage des Vertrauensverhältnisses ging so weit, als die im Jahr 1988 die Geschichte mit der Bürgerbewegung, die nach Westen abgeschoben worden ist, und wir darüber die gemacht, haben wir uns zum Schluss den Gag erlaubt, als Abschiedslied von van Morrisson ‘It’s all over now, baby blue’, was in Ost-Berlin nicht unbedingt bei allen so gut ankam, zu spielen.

Nicholson: Sie mussten trotzdem eine Sendung jeden Monat zusammenstellen und das ist eine gewisse redaktionelle Arbeit. Wie haben Sie die Musik ausgewählt?

Rulff: Die Musik war noch das einfachste, weil es eine große Punkszene in Ost-Berlin gab und es gab auch noch sehr viele Punks und Leute, die natürlich zu den Szenen Verbindung hatten. Und da war der Austausch ziemlich einfach. Auch das Rüberbringen von Kassetten und das hin und her Transportieren. Da mit Musik waren wir ja immer gut versorgt, also die Frage war ja die der qualitativen Ansprüche, die man stellte, auch an Punkmusik. Die wurden manchmal nach meinem Geschmack auch unterschritten, aber wir haben trotzdem gesendet.

Nicholson: Und die Moderation. Wurde vorher besprochen, was für eine Anmoderation von Ilona Marenbach gemacht wird? Es hörte sich immer frei gesprochen an.

Rulff: Die Kommentierung der Moderation war Sache der Moderation. Das heisst, die hat sich Ilona Marenbach selber ausgedacht. Es gab da auch das eine oder andere Naserümpfen und Stirnrunzeln, wenn sie mal für deren Begriffe über die Strenge geschlagen hat. Aber das sagten wir, das müssen wir

hinnehmen, weil man nicht alles sozusagen als O-Ton aus Ost-Berlin rübertransportieren kann. Die Moderation und die Verknüpfung zwischen den einzelnen Beiträgen, die müssen wir machen und dann müssen die Leute darauf vertrauen, und es wurde auch kenntlich gemacht, dass es von uns kommt, wer das macht. So aber Ilona Marenbach hatte eine große Fangemeinde gerade wegen der Kommentierung gehabt.

Nicholson: Gibt es Sendungen an die Sie sich besonders erinnern?

Rulff: Nicht ganze Sendungen, aber Beiträge. Also die Sendung vom September 1989, als wir das erste Mal eine Telefonleitung nach Leipzig gekriegt haben und direkt von der Demonstration berichtet wurde und vor allem berichtet wurde, dass die Polizei nicht eingegriffen hat, was ja jeder befürchtet hat. Jeder hat befürchtet, da kommt es jetzt zum Knall, die werden wieder zusammengeprügelt, die werden zusammengeführt. Und dann hat man live gehört, es ist gut gegangen und die Leute sind herumgezogen, die Leute sind ja immer mehr geworden und die Polizei hat sich ja zurückgehalten und da kriegt man schon beim Zuhören eine Gänsehaut. Das ist schon einmalig, weil man sich das heute nicht mehr vorstellen kann. Vorher von West-Berlin aus nach Leipzig kriegte man keine Verbindung hin. Bilder gab es nicht. Keinerlei Verbindung gab es. So, und dann gab es auch diese Sendung, die wir gemacht haben nach Januar 1988, als die Bürgerrechtler Bohley, Klier, Krawczyk abgeschoben worden sind und hat die Freya Klier einen Aufruf gestartet, in der Sendung, dass andere Intellektuelle sich melden sollten in Ost-Berlin. Das fand ich erst sehr mutig von ihr, und dachte ich, das ist eigentlich genau der Sinn, den Du mit dieser Sendung verbindest.

Nicholson: Warum Radio als Medium? Was hatte es für Sie bedeutet? Nicht nur Radio 100, sondern Radio insgesamt zu der Zeit?

Rulff: Ich glaube unterschiedlich. Also Radio 100 war die Tatsache, dass es ein Projekt war, was praktisch zeit- und rechtsbedingt Mitte der 80er uns möglich wurde, und wir gesagt haben, wir kümmern uns darum, wir machen das. Wir haben da teilweise auch Berichte, auch Politikberichterstattung gemacht. Ich selber war Geschäftsführer einer der Untergesellschaften, hab mich dann sehr stark um das Organisatorische auch noch kümmern müssen und vor allem auch die Geldbeschaffung, was mir einer der unliebsten Jobs, den es gab, war. Da

sind viele Leute über Radio 100 überhaupt an das Medium Radio rangekommen. Im Nachhinein würde ich ja sagen, Radio 100 war ein gigantischer Ausbildungsbetrieb. Wenn ich mich in den 90er Jahren umgeschaut habe, bei den diversen öffentlichen sowie den privaten Sendern, waren überall die Leute, die vorher bei Radio 100 gearbeitet haben. Das ist glaube ich eine sehr gute Schule gewesen. Ich selber habe gemerkt, dass ich nicht Radio-Journalismus machen will, sondern lieber Print-Journalismus und bin dann auch gewechselt.

APPENDIX (III)

Verbatim transcript of an interview with Ilona Marenbach, former Presenter of *Radio Glasnost*. (Interview conducted by Esme Nicholson on 13 December 2013 in Berlin.)

Marenbach: Ich bin Ilona Marenbach. Vor 25 Jahren habe ich bei Radio 100 die Sendung *Radio Glasnost* moderiert. Das war allerdings eine von vielen Sendungen. Ich war Moderatorin und Redakteurin. Ich hab die Sendung mit aufgebaut. Mittlerweile bin ich bei RBB Projektleiterin eines Projekts, das nennt sich Multimediale Wissenschaft. Ich koordiniere die Wissenschaftsberichterstattung im RBB und wir sind gerade dabei über verschiedene Projekte herauszufinden, was sind moderne Erzählweisen? Gibt es neue Formen von Wissensvermittlung?

Nicholson: *Radio Glasnost* und Radio 100. Wie sind Sie damals dazu gekommen? Und warum? Was war Ihre Motivation?

Marenbach: Zuerst gab es ja Radio 100. Ich war in der Gründungsphase mit dabei. Viele Initiativen haben sich damals gefunden und wurden zum Teil ein bisschen gezwungen, zusammen zu arbeiten. Ich gehörte zu einer diese Initiativen, ‚Anderes Radio Berlin' nannte sich das. Und die erste Zeit bei Radio 100 haben wir voller Engagement und ohne Geld gearbeitet. Also, ich hab mich zu der Zeit arbeitslos gemeldet und hab so lange bei Radio 100 gearbeitet, bis das Arbeitsamt irgendwann mal gesagt hat, Sie sind eigentlich gut ausgebildet, man kann Sie gut vermitteln, das versuchen sie doch nochmal und das war auch so, ich hätte dann anfangen müssen und daraufhin hat der Geschäftsführer von Radio 100 gesagt, gucken wir doch lieber, dass wir dich fest anstellen. So war ich die einzige fest angestellte Redakeurin bei Radio 100 und auch nur, weil ich sonst nicht mehr hätte arbeiten können. Heutzutage kann man das erzählen.

Nicholson: Sie hatten die Aufgabe, die Beiträge als Sendung zu verpacken. Ich finde Ihre Kommentare sagen heutzutage sehr viel über die Situation damals in West-Berlin und genieße besonders manchmal wo Sie Kommentare an die Berliner Behörden richten. Wie haben Sie Ihre Aufgabe damals gesehen oder wahrgenommen?

Marenbach: In erster Linie tatsächlich zu übersetzten. Die Ostsprache in die Westsprache. Ich habe mir immer vorgestellt, wer ist eigentlich mein Publikum an dem Abend? Ansonsten wenn ich moderiert habe bei Radio 100, war das Publikum ganz klar verortet West-Berlin. Linke, Autonome, Szene, West-Berlin. Darauf konnte man sich konzentrieren, entsprechend war dann auch die Wortwahl an den Abenden, an denen ich *Radio Glasnost* moderiert habe, war das anders. Da gab's nochmal ein spezielles Publikum, das für mich ja eigentlich fremd war. Ich hatte kaum Kontakt, ich bin nie in Ost-Berlin gewesen, nicht in der DDR gewesen, dann erst recht nicht wegen Glasnost, weil wir nicht wussten, wir sind ja eigentlich nicht so gut gesehen, und hab mir aber versucht, immer vorzustellen wer ist mein Publikum, wie ist die Sprache vor Ort und wie weit kann ich gehen in meiner Übersetzung. Manchmal klang das für mich, das authentische Material doch sehr anstrengend. Sehr verquarkt, sehr lange Sätze, überhaupt nicht emotional, verkopft, ganz furchtbar und ich wusste, wenn ich versuche zu kopieren, merkt man sofort, ist es eine billige Kopie und ich mache mich lächerlich auch bei meinen eigenen Leuten im Westen. Also das war dann immer so ein bisschen der Tanz auf dem Trapez. Manchmal hab ich vielleicht tatsächlich die falsche Wortwahl gefunden. Es gab ja ab und zu Rückmeldungen, dass ich jetzt ein bisschen übertrieben hätte oder dass der eine oder der andere sich ein bisschen getroffen gefühlt hat, aber zum großen Teil hat man das glaube ich genossen, dass ich versucht habe, in andere Worte das zu fassen, und das auch für Leute im Westen hörbar zu machen.

Nicholson: Haben Sie eine Entwicklung gemerkt? Heutzutage sieht man die Bedeutung von *Radio Glasnost*.

Marenbach: Das haben wir damals nicht gesehen. Also wir haben geahnt, dass wir tatsächlich was gefunden haben, was fehlt und dass wir ein großes Bedürfnis damit befriedigen. Das war aber nur eine Ahnung und ganz langsam kam dann auch die Rückmeldung, die uns ja auch bestätigt hat. Erst lange danach ist uns das nochmal bewusst geworden. Ich war im SFB, habe da als Chefredakteurin bei Radio Multikulti gearbeitet und eines Tages standen zwei Kollegen – ich glaube noch vom ORB – bei mir im Büro und haben sich dafür bedankt, dass wir damals *Radio Glasnost* ausgestrahlt haben und was für eine Bedeutung das gehabt hat. Und ich war total baff. [Lacht]. Ich war absolut verwundert, dass man nach Jahren sich daran noch erinnert, und sagt das war

großartig und wir wollten Sie einfach mal kennenlernen. Deshalb meine ich ja, es ist uns erst hinterher tatsächlich bewusst geworden, was wir da eingerichtet haben.

Nicholson: Wie sehen Sie das heutzutage? Sie sind mit Sicherheit stolz? Wie empfinden Sie es?

Marenbach: Ich freue mich, so ein bisschen beigetragen zu haben, dass ein Teil der Geschichte, also irgendwo, wenn Sie darüber stolpern, wenn andere sich darüber Gedanken machen und sich das anhören, das ist natürlich wunderbar und macht mich natürlich stolz. Aber für meinen Alltag hat es keine Bedeutung. [Lacht]

Nicholson: Radio. Sie sind immer noch beim Radio. Was für eine Bedeutung hatte Radio – ob RIAS oder SFB, Stimme der DDR oder Radio 100 – für Sie als Medium damals. War das Ihnen bewusst, was für eine Wirkung, was für eine politische Macht dieses Medium hatte, in der Situation?

Marenbach: Ich glaube, es war uns nicht so bewusst. Die einzige Motivation war ja: es gab zum ersten Mal Privatfunk in Deutschland und wir konnten ausbrechen aus dem öffentlich-rechtlichen System. Und haben die Alternative zum Privatfunk entwickelt, bevor es überhaupt den Privatfunk gab. Daran sind wir auch gescheitert. Ich glaube, wenn wir mit Radio 100 ein bisschen gewartet hätten und später angefangen hätten, wo man sehen kann, es gibt den Privatfunk mit seinen Dudeleien und wirklich Verdummungssendungen, dann hätte man das eher zu würdigen gewusst, was wir gemacht haben. Und wir hatten keinen langen Atem, sprich wir hatten kein Geld, deshalb war das irgendwann mal zu Ende. Die Motivation diesen Radiosender zu gründen und damit zu arbeiten, war eine politische, weil wir wollten eine Alternative zu den herkömmlichen öffentlich-Rechtlichen, aber sie war ja nicht gerichtet auf den Osten. Das haben wir ja erst gemerkt, als wir da angefangen haben zu senden, und uns bewusst wurde, hallo da gibt’s eine Mauer, wir kommen nicht rüber, aber das, was wir sagen, das, was wir tun, das, was wir spielen, das findet sehr viel mehr Menschen als wir eigentlich im Kopf hatten als wir diesen Sender gegründet haben und darüber entwickelte sich eben die Initiative. Auch natürlich sehr stark geprägt von Roland Jahn und Rüdiger Rosenthal, die uns

beide redaktionell versorgt haben, mit dem Material. Ich weiss nicht, ob Dieter Rulff es erzählt hat, dass es nicht immer harmonische Situationen waren, die wir durchlebt haben.

Nicholson: Nein, nein. Erzählen Sie weiter.

Marenbach: Es lag schon daran, dass die beiden – Roland und Rüdiger – natürlich sehr viel näher dem Osten gegenüberstanden und manchmal Schwierigkeiten damit hatten, wenn ich versucht habe, eben manchmal ein bisschen laxer zu formulieren. Darüber haben wir uns heftig gestritten und heute vermisse ich diese Art der Auseinandersetzung und den Streit, weil danach habe ich das kaum mehr erlebt, in keiner Redaktion, dass man so engagiert sich wirklich um die Themen kümmert und sich damit befasst und auseinandersetzt, sich über Worte, über Formulierungen streiten kann. Das habe ich nur in der Zeit erlebt. Danach nie wieder. Irgendwann kommt die Routine und natürlich, es hat heutzutage nicht mehr so die Bedeutung, wie es damals hatte. Es gibt hunderte von Sendern. Man kann die ganze Welt hier hören. Wo hat man noch ein Programm, was tatsächlich eine politische Funktion auch ausüben kann? Also. Das kommt natürlich noch dazu. Aber man findet hier kaum Programme, die sich wirklich wagen, mal grundsätzlich Dinge zu thematisieren. Wir sind alle auf Quotenjagd, wir müssen uns legitimisieren, sei es nun ob es werbefinanziert ist oder öffentlich-rechtlich steht genauso unter Druck. Man kann sich nicht leisten, keine Hörer zu haben. Das habe ich nun leider selber erlebt bei Radio Multikulti als es irgendwann mal hieß, geht nicht mehr.

Nicholson: Die Reaktionen auf *Radio Glasnost*. Die Presse im Westen sowie im Osten. Die Stasi. Waren Sie überrascht?

Marenbach: Ich weiss, dass ich mich erschrocken habe, und dass ich mich tatsächlich nicht getraut habe in die DDR zu reisen. Jede Fahrt durch die DDR als Transitreise war immer mit so einem kleinen Fragezeichen, geht es gut? Es ist nie was passiert. Ich habe keine Probleme gehabt. Erst im Nachhinein, als wir unsere Stasiunterlagen betrachtet haben, erst in diesem Jahr haben wir sie ja bekommen, ist es mir aufgefallen, dass sie mich schon ganz gefährlich eingestuft haben und ich ständig unter Beobachtung stand und jeder meiner Grenzübergänge als ich Transit gefahren bin, durch die DDR, dokumentiert hat,

und dass man immer wieder verlängert hat, mich zu beobachten. Das zeigt wie hysterisch das System gewesen ist. Was haben sie für eine Vorstellung gehabt, was ich für eine Bedeutung habe, die weit über das hinaus geht, was es tatsächlich war. Wir hatten einen Mitarbeiter, einen informellen Mitarbeiter in der Redaktion, der scheint aber auch sehr krude berichtet zu haben, das was wir in unseren Unterlagen gefunden haben, war einfach nur Blödsinn, also da wurden Zusammenhänge hergestellt, die es nie gegeben hat. Und auch Personen, mit denen ich in Kontakt gewesen sein soll, mit denen ich überhaupt keine Berührung hatte. Also es war schon Fiktion. Zu der Zeit war mir das nicht klar. Erst im Nachhinhein durch die Rückmeldung. Wir haben einmal im Monat gesendet. Insofern ist jetzt im Vergleich zu anderen Sendungen diese eine Sendung für uns nicht so aus dem Rahmen gefallen. Als Radio 100 geschlossen wurde, hatten wir ganz andere Sorgen. Hauptsächlich finanzielle Sorgen, dass man sich darüber keinen Kopf mehr gemacht hat, was das für eine Wirkung oder eine Bedeutung gehabt hat. Ich habe nur dann als die Mauer fiel gemerkt, und das merke ich im Übrigen immer noch, sobald ich in Ost-Berlin bin und an bestimmte Orte komme, spult sich ein Film ab. Darüber hab ich berichtet, darüber hab ich sehr viel gehört, war in der Gethsemane Kirche, was weiß ich für andere Orte und da spielen bestimmte Leute, da haben Handlungen stattgefunden, über die ich sicherlich mehr gewusst hätte, als viele andere, eben durch die Berichte, die wir bekommen haben, aber die ich selber nie gesehen habe und die Leute nie getroffen habe. Und das plötzlich alles zu sehen und die Leute kennenzulernen, das war sehr lustig teilweise, weil die Fantasie schon manchmal anders ist als die Wirklichkeit. Manchmal aber auch nicht. Manchmal war das hundertprozentig ‚Ja, so habe ich es mir vorgestellt'. Und manchmal hätte man mir dreimal sagen müssen, das ist jetzt der und der und ich habe gesagt, ne! [Lacht] Ich habe ein anderes Bild von der Stimme, das meine Fantasie irgendwie zusammengerührt hat. Das war dann lustig in der Zeit.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

(Where the author or authors are not known, entries are listed by title.)

Asmussen, Marie, 'Kennedy Besuch: eine 93-jährige Zeitzeugin erinnert sich', Deutschlandradio Kultur, 26 June 2013, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X120597

Buchmann, Ulrike, 'Die Würze des Berliner Theaters: Zum Tode des berühmten Kritikers Friedrich Luft', *Der Morgen*, 27 December 1990

Butzko, Hans-Günther, '10 Jahre nach dem Mauerfall: überall blühende Landschaften', Deutschlandradio Berlin, 8 November 1999, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ167647

Conrad, Andreas, '1. Mai 1987. Nacht der Flammen in Kreuzberg', *Der Tagesspiegel,* 30 April 2012

'Dichtung und Wahrheit', *Neues Deutschland*, 2 February 1988

'Einen wie ihn wird es nicht wieder geben', *Berliner Morgenpost*, 28 December 1990

Eisler, Gerhard, 'Zum Besuch von John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin', Rundfunk der DDR/Deutschlandsender, 27 June 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R016836357

Elitz, Ernst and Katrin Heise, 'Die Stimme der Kritik: Zum 100. Geburtstag von Friedrich Luft', 24 August 2011, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X024028

Fehrle, Brigitte, 'Alternativradio in dem Loch zwischen A und Z', *die taz*, 26 June 1987

Gärtner, Peter, 'Erstmals funkt "Radio Glasnost" für die Hörer in der DDR', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 31 August 1987

Grack, Günther, 'Die Stimme der Kritik: Zum Tode von Friedrich Luft', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 28 December 1990

Herzing, Johanna, ‘Porträt von Friedrich Luft’, Deutschlandradio Kultur, 24 August 2011, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X024026

Hübner, Lilo, Karin Rohn, and Walter Schlicker, ‘Umfragen und Meinungen von Westberlinern und DDR-Bürgern zu den Maßnahmen der Regierung der DDR zur Sicherung der Staatsgrenze’, Rundfunk der DDR/Berliner Welle, 14 August 1961, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R015704148

Jaecks, Klaus, ‘Bericht über den Besuch von Bundespräsident Heinrich Lübke im Notaufnahmelager Marienfelde’, *Die Zeit im Funk*, RIAS, 30 August 1961, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ106731

Kaiser, Joachim, ‘Was Friedrich Luft uns war’, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 27 December 1990

Karuz, Hans-R., ‘Wenn sich der Monat neigt, wird’s kritisch für Ost-Berlin’, *Die Welt*, 22 March 1988

Knecht, Willi, ‘John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin’, Part 1, RIAS/SFB, 26 June 1963, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ107145 100D

—, ‘John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin’, Part 2, RIAS/SFB, 26 June 1963, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ107145 200D

—, ‘John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin’, Part 3, RIAS/SFB, 26 June 1963, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ107145 300D

—, ‘John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin’, Part 4, RIAS/SFB, 26 June 1963, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ107145 400D

—, ‘John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin’, Part 5, RIAS/SFB, 26 June 1963, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ107145 500D

—, ‘John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin’, RIAS/SFB, Part 6, 26 June 1963, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ107145 600D

König, Jürgen, ‘Eine Stadt erinnert sich: 50 Jahre Mauerbau’, *Fazit: Kultur vom Tage*, Deutschlandradio Kultur, 9 August 2011, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X087962

Kröber, Klaus Dieter, ‘Neue Maßnahmen gegen Menschenhandel’, Rundfunk der DDR/Berliner Rundfunk, 13 August 1961, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R015653707

Kronburger, Georg, ‘SFB-Reportage von der Ecke Brunnenstraße/Bernauer Straße’, RIAS, 13 August 1961, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ001483

Kuckei, Uwe, ‘John F. Kennedy auf allen Kanälen’, *TV-Courier*, 4 June 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/5640

Kuhlmey, Astrid, ‘Wochenkommentar zur Mauereröffnung vor 10 Jahren und den Folgen’, *Ortszeit*, Deutschlandradio Kultur, 5 November 1999, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ043245

Lübeck, Horst and Hans Rothen, ‘Umfrage zu den Maßnahmen der Regierung der DDR zur Sicherung der Staatsgrenze’, Rundfunk der DDR/Berliner Welle, 13 August 1961, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R015689092

Luft, Friedrich, ‘Akzeptanz-Rede für den Ricarda-Huch-Preis’, June 1978, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Sign. 136

—, ‘Wenn einer wieder reisen darf’, *Kulturpolitik*, RIAS, 16 June 1973, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Sign. 87

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 7 February 1946, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 32.0316

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 13 August 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 403

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 20 August 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 403

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 27 August 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 403

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 10 September 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 404

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 17 September 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 404

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 24 September 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 404

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik* , RIAS, 1 October 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 405

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 8 October 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 405

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 15 October 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 405

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 22 October 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 405

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 29 October 1961, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 405

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 19 August 1962, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 412

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 26 August 1962, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 412

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 25 August 1968, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 408

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 8 February 1972, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/ Sign. 31.3242

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 9 July 1972, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 477

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 8 February 1976, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/ Sign. 31.3242

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 12 January 1986, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 485

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 9 February 1986, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 486

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 28 December 1986, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 488

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 5 April 1987, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 489

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 19 April 1987, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 489

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 2 August 1987, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 490

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 1 January 1989, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 491

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 12 November 1989, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 410

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 19 November 1989, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 410

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 26 November 1989, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 410

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 8 April 1990, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 492

—, *Die Stimme der Kritik*, RIAS, 7 October 1990, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/Stimme/Sign. 411

‘Luft: Gleiche Stelle, gleiche Welle’, *Der Spiegel*, 11 October 1950

Malzahn, Claus Christian, ‘Hinterhältig: Jemand versucht, die DDR in Misskredit zu bringen’, *die taz*, 27 April 1988

‘Maßnahmeplan zur materiell-technischen und personellen Sicherstellung der Aktion David’, Hauptabteilung III, Stellvertreter F, Berlin, 21 March 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Dokumentation ‘Radio Glasnost’

‘Mauertotenandacht’, Deutschlandradio Kultur, 15 August 2011, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X008797-801

Meyer, Frank, ‘Sollte mehr an die Schrecken der Mauer erinnert werden?’, *Debatte*, Deutschlandradio Kultur, 28 August 2011, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X017298

Ministerium für Staatssicherheit/Presseabteilung, ‘RIAS, Hundert,6 und Radio 100: Instrumente der ideologischen Diversion gegen die DDR’, (Berlin: MfS, April 1989), Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Dokumentation ‘Radio Glasnost’

Ministerium für Staatssicherheit/Verfügung gemäß §98 der Strafprozeßordnung gegen Roland Jahn, 17 December 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Dokumentation ‘Radio Glasnost’

Ossinksi, Igor, ‘Glasnost auf westliche Art’, *Die Berliner Zeitung*, 12 January 1988

Nieswandt, Erich, ‘Bericht: Lautsprecherkrieg an der Mauer’, *Die Zeit im Funk*, RIAS, 16 October 1961, *Niemand hat die Absicht: Tondokumente zur Mauer*, CD (Munich: BMG, 2001)

—, ‘Bericht: Studio am Stacheldraht’, *Die Zeit im Funk*, RIAS, 14 December 1961, *Niemand hat die Absicht: Tondokumente zur Mauer*, CD (Munich: BMG, 2001)

—, ‘Hubschrauberflug entlang der Sektorengrenze‘, *Die Zeit im Funk*, RIAS, 30 August 1961, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ106731

—, ‘Interview mit einem Ost-Berlin-Besucher zur Stimmung jenseits der Grenze’, RIAS, 13 August 1961, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ171196

‘Operation David II’, Karte, April 1988, MfS, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Dokumentation ‘Radio Glasnost’

‘Programmablauf: John F. Kennedy in Berlin’, 19 June 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/5640

‘Radio 100 funkt ab heute über die Mauer’, *die taz*, 31 August 1987

‘Radio Glasnost’, *Der Spiegel*, 7 March 1988

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 22 July 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 31 August 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 28 September 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 26 October 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 30 November 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 28 December 1987, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 25 January 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 29 February 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 28 March 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 25. April 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 30 May 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 27 June 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 25 July 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 29 August 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 26 September 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 31 October 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 28 November 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 26 December 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 30 January 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 27 February 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 27 March 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 24 April 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 29 May 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 26 June 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 31 July 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 28 August 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 25 September 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio ‘Radio Glasnost’

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 30 October 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'

Radio Glasnost, Radio 100, 27 November 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Audio 'Radio Glasnost'

Reportage vom Autobahnkontrollpunkt Drewitz, Rundfunk der DDR, 13 August 1961, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R015580373

Reportage vom Brandenburger Tor, Rundfunk der DDR, 14 August 1961, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R015580373

'Richtig verstanden', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 27 June 1963

Roth, Clara, 'Der Muff von 40 Jahren', *die taz*, 2 February 1988

Sandrock, Martha, 'Privat für drüben', *die taz*, 2 September 1987

Schade, Christof, 'Reportage vom U-Bahnhof Voltastraße', *Sondersendung des Zeitfunks*, RIAS, 13 August 1961, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X046303

Schlwy, Peter, 'Ein Berliner Original, das Droschke statt Taxe fuhr', *Bild*, 27 December 1990

Selbmann, Erich, 'Kommentar: Studio am Stacheldraht', Rundfunk der DDR, 20 January 1962, *Niemand hat die Absicht: Tondokumente zur Mauer*, CD (Munich: BMG, 2001)

Tomerius, Lorenz, 'Berlin verlor einen Weltbürger des Theaters', *Welt am Sonntag*, 30 December 1990

'Vergabe der UKW-Frequenzen 100,6 und 103,4 MHz', *Info-Dienst Neuer Medien*, December 1986

van Laak, Claudia, 'Berlin: Mauergedenken', *Ortszeit,* Deutschlandradio Kultur, 13 August 2011, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X023349

von Jena, Hans-Jörg, 'Zum Tod von Friedrich Luft: Reporter wollte er sein, nicht Professor', *Das Volksblatt*, 28 December 1990, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, AdK-Archiv/Friedrich Luft/ Sign. 128

von Schnitzler, Karl Eduard, ‘Erster Rundfunkkommentar zu den Sperrmaßnahmen’, Rundfunk der DDR, 13 August 1961, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R015615093

—, ‘Zum Besuch von John F. Kennedy in West-Berlin’, Rundfunk der DDR/Deutschlandsender, 25 June 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/R016836492

‘Vox-Hörzeitung‘, November 1989, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/RAD01

‘Weitere Verfahrensweise zum Vorgehen gegen den Sendebeitrag “Radio Glasnost – außer Kontrolle” des Privatsenders “Radio 100” in Berlin (West)’, Hauptabteilung III, Berlin, 6 May 1988, Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft, Archiv der DDR-Opposition, Berlin, RHG/Dokumentation ‘Radio Glasnost’

‘Wer steuert die sogenannte DDR-Opposition?’, *Neues Deutschland*, 17 February 1988

Winkler, Heinrich August, ‘10 Jahre Mauerfall. Die innere Einheit im Wartestand’, *Politisches Feuilleton*, Deutschlandradio Berlin, 1 November 1999, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, DZ006341

Wohlan, Margarete, ‘Ich bin ein Berliner: Vor 50 Jahren besuchte John F. Kennedy West-Berlin’, Deutschlandradio Kultur, 23 June 2013, Deutschlandradio-Archiv, Berlin, X122765

‘Zweierlei Reisegepäck aus Washington und Moskau’, *Neues Deutschland*, 4 July 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Babelsberg, DRA/5640

SECONDARY SOURCES

Alter, Nora M., and Lutz Kopenick, eds., *Sound Matters: Essays on the Acoustic of Modern German Culture* (New York: Berghahn, 2004)

Arnheim, Rudolf, *Radio* (New York: Arno Press, 1986)

Arnold, Klaus and Christoph Classen, eds., *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda: Radio in der DDR* (Berlin: LinksDruck, 2004)

Assmann, Aleida, 'Texts, traces, trash: the changing media of cultural memory', *Representations*, No. 56, Special Issue (Autumn, 1996), 123-34

—, 'Transformations between history and memory', *Social Research*, vol. 75, No. 1 Collective Memory and Collective Identity (Spring 2008), 49-72

Assmann, Jan, 'Collective memory and cultural identity', *New German Critique*, No. 65, Cultural History/Cultural Studies (Spring/Summer, 1995), 125-33

Attali, Jacques, 'Noise: the political economy of music', in *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by Jonathan Sterne (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 29-39

Badenoch, Alexander, *Voices in Ruins: West German Radio across the 1945 Divide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

Barnett, Clive, *Culture and Democracy: Media, Space and Representation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003)

—, 'Neither poison nor cure: space, scale and public life in media theory', in *Mediaspace*, ed. by Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 58-75

Barthes, Roland, 'The grain of the voice', in *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by Jonathan Sterne (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 504-10

Bauer, Matthias, ed., *Medien- und Kulturgeschichte einer Hauptstadt im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Francke, 2007)

Bauernfeind, Wolfgang, *Tonspuren: Das Haus des Rundfunks in Berlin* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2010)

BBC, *BBC Year Book* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1948)

Beck, Alan, ‘The Death of Radio? An Essay in Radio Philosophy for the Digital Age’ *Sound Journal*, 2002, http://www.savoyhill.co.uk/deathofradio/ [accessed 5 December 2011]

Benjamin, Walter, *Berliner Kindheit um Neunzehnhundert: Fassung letzter Hand* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2010)

—, ‘The work of art in the age of mechanical repoduction’ (1935), in *Film Theory and Criticism*, ed. by Leo Braudy (Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 731-51

Borneman, John, *Belonging in the Two Berlins: Kin, State, Nation* (Cambridge University Press, 1992)

Brinson, Charmian and Richard Dove, *Stimme der Wahrheit: German Language Broadcasting by the BBC* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002)

Broadbent, Philip and Sabine Hake, *Berlin: Divided City* (New York: Berghahn, 2010)

Büttner, Fritz Lothar, *Das Haus des Rundfunks in Berlin* (Berlin: Buchreihe des SFB, 1965)

Bösch, Frank and Manel Borutta, eds., *Medien und Emotionen in der Moderne* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2006)

Boysen, Jacqueline, *Radio Glasnost – außer Kontrolle: Ein West-Berliner Sender der DDR-Opposition* (Berlin: bpb, 2010), http://bpb.de/geschichte/ zeitgeschichte/ deutschlandarchiv/54196/radio-glasnost?p=all [accessed 31 December 2013]

Brecht, Bertolt, ‘Rede über die Funktion des Rundfunks’ (1932), in *Rundfunk und Fernsehen in Deutschland: Texte zur Rundfunkpolitik von der Weimarer Republik bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Ansgar Diller (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1985), pp. 54-56

Brinson, Charmian and Richard Dove, eds., *Stimme der Wahrheit: German-Language Broadcasting by the BBC* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003)

Bull, Michael, ‘To each their own bubble: mobile spaces of sound in the city’, in *Mediaspace*, ed. by Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 275-93

Cavavero, Adriana, ‘Multiple Voices’, in *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by Jonathan Sterne (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 520-32

Cavell, Richard, *McLuhan in Space: A Cultural Geography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003)

Chesebro, James W., *Analyzing Media* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1996)

Chignell, Hugh, *Key Concepts in Radio Studies* (London: Sage, 2009)

Childs, David, *The Fall of the GDR* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001)

Chion, Michel, *Audio-Vision: Sound On Screen*, trans. by Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994)

—, ‘The three listening modes’, in *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by Jonathan Sterne (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 48-53

Classen, Christoph, ‘Captive audience? GDR radio in the mirror of listeners’ mail’, *Cold War History,* Vol. 13. No. 2 (2013), 239-54

Clay Large, David, *Berlin* (New York: Basic Books, 2000)

Coleman, Stephen and Karen Ross, eds., *The Media and the Public: ‘Them’ and ‘Us’ in Media Discourse* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010)

Couldry, Nick and Anna McCarthy, eds., *Mediaspace* (London: Routledge, 2004)

Crang, Mike and Nigel Thrift, eds., *Thinking Space* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000)

Crisell, Andrew, *Understanding Radio* (London: Routledge, 1986)

Cull, Nicholas J., ‘The man who invented truth: the tenure of Edward R. Murrow as director of the United States Information Agency during the Kennedy Years’, in *Across the Blocs: Cold War Cultural and Social History*, ed. by Rana Mitter and Patrick Major (London: Franc Cass, 2004), pp. 23-48

Cummings, Richard H., *Cold War Radio: The Dangerous History of American Broadcasting in Europe, 1950-1989* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 2009)

Curann, James and Tamar Liebes, eds., *Media, Ritual and Identity* (London: Routledge, 1998)

Dammann, Clas, *Stimme aus dem Äther, Fenster zur Welt: die Anfänge von Radio und Fernsehen in Deutschland* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005)

Dale, Ann and Ted Nayor, 'Dialogue and public space: an exploration of radio and information communications technologies', *Canadian Journal of Political Science* Vol. 38, No 1 (March, 2005), 203-225

Daum, Andreas, 'Ich bin ein Berliner: John F. Kennedys Ansprache vor dem Schöneberger Rathaus in Berlin', in *Der Sound des Jahrhunderts: Geräusche, Töne, Stimmen – 1889 bis heute*, ed. by Gerhard Paul and Ralph Schock (Berlin: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2013), pp. 442-445

—, *Kennedy in Berlin* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schönigh, 2003)

Dayan, Daniel and Elihu Katz, *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992)

Derrida, Jacques, 'The voice that keeps silence', in *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by Jonathan Sterne (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 495-503

Dietrich, Nicole, 'Berlin sounds: audible cartography of a formerly divided city', in *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century*, ed. by Feiereisen and Merley Hill, 2012, pp. 95-110

Diller, Ansgar, ed., *Rundfunk und Fernsehen in Deutschland: Text zur Rundfunkpolitik von der Weimarer Republik bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun., 1985)

— *Was Sie über Rundfunk wissen sollten: Materialien zum Verständnis eines Mediums* (Berlin: Vistas, 1997)

Doane, Mary Ann, 'The voice in cinema: the articulation of body and space', *Yale French Studies*, No. 60, Cinema/Sound (1980), 33-50

Dolar, Mladen, *A Voice and Nothing More* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2006)

Dümmel, Karsten and Melanie Piepenschneider, eds., *Was war die Stasi? Einblicke in das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit der DDR* (Berlin: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2013)

Dussel, Konrad and Edgar Lersch, *Quellen zur Programmgeschichte des deutschen Hörfunks und Fernsehens* (Göttingen: Muster-Schmidt, 1999)

Eichoff, Jürgen, 'Ich bin ein Berliner: a history and a linguistic clarification', *Monatshefte*, University of Wisconsin Press, Vol. 85, No. 1 (Spring 1993), 71-80

Erll, Astrid and Stephanie Wodianka, *Film und kulturelle Erinnerung: Plurimediale Konstellationen* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008)

Eyerman, Ron, 'The past in the present: culture and the transmission of memory', *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (June 2004), 159-69

Feiereisen, Florence and Alexandra Merley Hill, *Germany in the Loud Twentieth Century: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2012)

Fisher, Jaimey and Barbara Mennel, *Spatial Turns: Space, Place and Mobility in German Literary and Visual Culture* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010)

Fulbrook, Mary, *A Concise History of Germany* (Cambridge University Press, 1990)

—, *The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005)

Garnham, Nicholas, *Emancipation, the Media, and Modernity: Arguments About the Media and Social Theory* (Oxford University Press, 2000)

Garton-Ash, Timothy, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent* (London: Cape, 1993)

Geisler, Michael, E., 'The disposal of memory: Fascism and the Holocaust on West German television', in *Framing the Past, The Historiography of German Cinema and Television*, ed. by Murray, Bruce A. and Christopher J. Wickham (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), pp. 220-60

Geserick, Rolf, ‘Vom Erziehungsinstrument zum Konsumgut? Zur Entwicklung des DDR-Rundfunks in der Honecker-Zeit’, in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Klaus Arnold and Christoph Classen (Berlin: LinksDruck, 2004), pp. 151-62

Grosswiler, Paul, ‘The Method is the Message: rethinking McLuhan through critical theory’, *Canadian Journal of Communication*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1999, http://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal/article/view /1087/993, [accessed 25 Jul. 2014]

Grundmann, Heidi, ed., *Re-inventing Radio: Aspects of Radio as Art* (Frankfurt a. Main: Revolver, 2008)

Guerin, Frances, *A Culture of Light: Cinema and Technology in 1920s Germany* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), pp. 1-47

Gumbert, Heather, ‘Building the East German television tower’, in *Berlin: Divided City*, ed. by Philip Broadbent and Sabine Hake (New York: Berghahn, 2010), pp. 89-99

Habermas, Jürgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1989)

Hagen, Wolfgang, *Die Stimme der köperlosen Wesenheit: Medienepistemologische Skizzen zur europäischen Radioentwicklung* (paper given at the Universität Wiesbaden, 2002) http://whagen.de/ publications/StimmeAlsKoerperloseWesenheit/Stimme_ultvers.pdf [accessed 15 February 2014]

Hayward, Susan, *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006)

Heath, Stephen, *Questions of Cinema* (London: Macmillan, 1981)

Herbst, Maral, *Demokratie und Maulkorb: Der deutsche Rundfunk in Berlin zwischen Staatsgründung und Mauerbau* (Berlin: Vistas, 2002)

Hermann Meyn, ‘Allein auf weiten Fluren: Als Nachrichtenredakteur in der Nacht zum 13. August 1961’, in *Radio-Reminiszenzen: Erinnerungen an RIAS Berlin,* ed. by Manfred Rexin (Berlin: VISTAS, 2002), pp. 104-06

Hestermann, Ottheinrich, ed., *Arbeitstexte für den Unterricht: Presse und Pressewesen* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun., 1978)

Hirsch, Marianne, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997)

Hochscherf, Tobias, Christoph Laucht and Andrew Plowman, eds., *Divided, but not Disconnected: German Experiences of the Cold War* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2010)

Huysson, Andreas, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995)

Jansson, André and Amanda Lagerkvist, eds., *Strange Spaces: Explorations into Mediated Obscurity* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009)

Johnson, A. Ross, and R. Eugene Parta, eds., *Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. A Collection of Studies and Documents* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010)

Jungen, Oliver, ‘Erregerphantasien: Eine sentimentale Schneise im frühen Radiodiskurs’, in *Die Massen bewegen: Medien und Emotionen in der Moderne*, ed. by Frank Bösch and Manel Borutta (Frankfurt: Campus, 2006), pp. 307-24

Kaes, Anton, ‘History and film: public memory in the age of electronic dissemination’, in *Framing the Past, The Historiography of German Cinema and Television*, ed. by Bruce A. Murray and Christopher J. Wickham (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), pp. 308-23

Kahn, Douglas and Gregory Whitehead, eds., *Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio, and the Avant-Garde* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992)

Kansteiner, Wulf, *In Pursuit of German Memory: History, TV and Politics after Auschwitz* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2006)

— , ‘Meaning in memory: a methodological critique of collective memory studies’, *History and Theory*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (May, 2002), 179-99

Kimbrough, Andrew McComb, *The Sound of Meaning: Theories of Voice in Twentieth Century Thought and Performance* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Louisiana State University, 2002)

Kind-Kovács, Friederike and Jessie Labov, eds., *Samizdat, Tamizdat, and Beyond: Transnational Media During and After Socialism* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2013)

Kirschbaum, Erik, *Bruce Springsteen: Rocking the Wall. The Berlin Concert that Changed the World* (Berlin, Berlinica, 2013)

Kittler, Friedrich, Thomas Macho and Sigrid Weigel, eds., *Zwischen Rauschen und Offenbarung: Zur Kultur- und Mediengeschichte der Stimme* (Berlin: Akademie, 2008)

Koepnick, Lutz, 'Benjamin's Silence', in *Sound Matters: Essay on the Acoustic of Modern German Culture* ed. by Nora M. Alter and Lutz Kopenick (New York: Berghahn, 2004), pp. 117-29

—, 'Forget Berlin', *The German Quarterly*, Vol. 74: Sites of Memory (Autumn, 2001), 343-54

Kohse, Petra, *Gleiche Stelle, gleiche Welle: Friedrich Luft und seine Zeit* (Berlin: Aufbau, 1998)

Könne, Christian, *Die Entwicklung des DDR-Hörfunks in den 1960er Jahren. Pläne, Innovation, Wirklichkeiten* (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2006)

—, *Der Hörfunk der DDR in den 1960er Jahren* (Berlin: DRA, 2010)

— , 'Stereoradio für Berlin: Hörfunkmodernisierung im Wettlauf der Systeme', in *Konfrontation und Wettbewerb: Wissenschaft, Technik und Kultur im geteilten Berliner Alltag (1948–1973)*, ed. by Michael Lemke (Berlin: Metropol, 2008), pp. 135-60

Kowalczuk, Ilko-Sascha, *Stasi konkret: Überwachung und Repression in der DDR* (Munich: Beck, 2013)

Kowasch, Fred, *Vom schwarzen Kanal zu Radio Glasnost. Die Hörfunkprogramme der DDR-Opposition unterlaufen die staatliche Medienpolitik* (unpublished master's dissertation, Freie Universität, Berlin, 1997)

Kracauer, Siegfried, *Straßen in Berlin und anderswo* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2009)

Krebs, Claudia, *Radio: zwischen kritischer Darstellung, Theorie, Experiment; Forschungsbeiträge zum Radio in einigen europäischen Ländern* (Berlin: Avinus, 2008)

Kundler, Herbert, *RIAS Berlin: eine Radio-Station in einer geteilten Stadt* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1994)

LaBelle, Brandon, 'Transmission Culture', in *Re-inventing Radio: Aspects of Radio as Art,* ed. by Heidi Grundmann (Frankfurt a. M.: Revolver, 2008), pp. 63-83

Lacey, Kate, *Feminine Frequencies: Gender, German Radio, and the Public Sphere, 1923–1945* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1996)

Ladd, Brian, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997)

Landsberg, Alison, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004)

Landy, Marcia, ed., *The Historical Film: History and Memory in Media* (London: The Athlone Press, 2000), pp. 1-22

Lapsley, Robert and Michael Westlake, eds., *Film Theory: An Introduction*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)

Larkey, Edward, '"Heute muß ich mal an euch schreiben …": Hörerbriefe an DT64 und die Aushandlung kulturpolitischer Legitimation beim DDR-Rundfunk' in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Klaus Arnold and Christoph Classen (Berlin: LinksDruck, 2004), pp. 323-39

Laughey, Dan, *Key Themes in Media Theory* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2007)

Lemke, Michael, ed., *Konfrontation und Wettbewerb: Wissenschaft, Technik und Kultur im geteilten Berliner Alltag (1948–1973)* (Berlin: Metropol, 2008)

Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974)

Leonhard, Joachim-Felix, 'Von gestern auf heute: Das Ende des Rundfunks in einem untergegangenen Staat und seine historische Überlieferung', in *Schallwellen: zur Sozialgeschichte des Radios*, ed. by Theo Mäusli (Zurich: Chronos, 1996), pp. 119-30

Lindenberger, Thomas, 'Divided, but not disconnected: Germany as a border region of the Cold War', in *Divided, but not Disconnected: German Experiences of the Cold War*, ed. by Tobias Hochscherf, Christoph Laucht and Andrew Plowman (Oxford: Berghahn, 2010), pp. 11-33

—, 'Geteilte Welt, geteilter Himmel? Der Kalte Krieg und die Massenmedien in gesellschaftsgeschichtlicher Perspektive', in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Klaus Arnold and Christoph Classen (Berlin: LinksDruck, 2004), pp. 27-44

Mäusli, Theo, ed., *Schallwellen: zur Sozialgeschichte des Radios* (Zurich: Chronos, 1996)

McAdams, A. James, *Germany Divided: From the Wall to Reunification* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993)

McLuhan, Marshall and Quentin Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects* (New York: Ginko Press, 1967, 1996)

—, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (London: Sphere, 1967)

McQuire, Scott, *The Media City: Media Architecture and Urban Space* (London: Sage Publishing, 2008)

Metz, Christian, 'Aural Objects', in *Film Sound: Theory and Practice*, ed. by Elisabeth Weis and John Belton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), pp. 154-61

Meyen, Michael, 'Das unwichtige Medium: Radiohören in der DDR', in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Klaus Arnold and Christoph Classen (Berlin: LinksDruck, 2004), pp. 341-56

Mitter, Rana and Patrick Major, eds., *Across the Blocs: Cold War Cultural and Social History* (London: Frank Cass, 2004)

Moores, Shaun, ‘The doubling of place: electronic media, time-space arrangements and social relationships’, in *Mediaspace*, ed. by Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 21-35

Morris, Leslie, ‘The Sound of Memory’, *The German Quarterly*, Vol. 74: Sites of Memory (Autumn, 2001), 368-78

Morley, David and Kevin Robins, eds., *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries* (London: Routledge, 1995)

Mullen, Megan, ‘Coming to terms with the future he foresaw: Marshall McLuhan's Understanding Media’, *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 47, No. 2, 2006, 373-380

Murray, Bruce A. and Christopher J. Wickham, eds., *Framing the Past, The Historiography of German Cinema and Television* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992)

Paul, Gerhard and Ralph Schock, eds., *Der Sound des Jahrhunderts: Geräusche, Töne, Stimmen – 1889 bis heute* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014)

Peters, John Durham, *Speaking into the Air: A History of the Idea of Communication* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999)

—, ‘The telephonic uncanny and the problem of communication’, in *The Sound Studies Reader,* ed. by Jonathan Sterne (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 363-72

Pike, David L., ‘Wall and tunnel: the spatial metaphorics of Cold War Berlin’, *New German Critique* (110, Vol. 37, No. 2, Summer 2010), 73-94

Pommerin, Reiner, ed., *The American Impact on Postwar Germany* (Oxford: Berghahn, 1995)

Pragal Peter and Eckart D. Stratenschulte, *Der Monolog der Lautsprecher und andere Geschichten aus dem geteilten Berlin* (Munich: dtv, 1999)

Rexin, Manfred, ed., *Radio-Remininszenzen: Erinnerungen an RIAS Berlin* (Berlin: Vistas, 2002)

Richie, Alexandra, *Faust’s Metropolis: A History of Berlin* (London: Harper Collins, 1998)

Riedel, Heide, *Lieber Rundfunk: 75 Jahre Hörergeschichte* (Berlin: DRA, 1999)

Riess, Curt, *Berlin Berlin 1945–1953* (Berlin: Non Stop-Bücherei, 1953)

Risso, Linda, 'Radio wars: broadcasting in the Cold War', *Cold War History,* Vol. 13. No. 2 (2013), 146-52

Ross, Corey, 'East Germans and the Berlin Wall: popular opinion and social change before and after the border closure of August 1961', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (January 2004), 25-43

Scannell, Paddy, *Broadcast Talk* (London: Sage, 1991)

—, *Radio, Television and Modern Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996)

Schafer, R. Murray, 'The Soundscape', in *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by Sterne, Jonathan (London: Routlegde, 2012), pp. 91-95

Schildt, Axel, 'Zwei Staaten: eine Hörfunk- und Fernsehnation. Überlegungen zur Bedeutung der elektronischen Massenmedien in der Geschichte der Kommunikation zwischen der Bundesrepublik und der DDR', in *Doppelte Zeitgeschichte. Deutsch-deutsche Beziehungen 1945-1990,* ed. by Arndt Bauerkämper, Martin Sabrow and Bernd Stöver (Bonn: Dietz Nachfolger, 1998), pp. 58-73

Schiller-Lerg, Sabine, *Walter Benjamin und der Rundfunk: Programmarbeit zwischen Theorie und Praxis* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1984)

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang, *In a Cold Crater: Cultural and Intellectual Life in Berlin, 1945–1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998)

Schneider, Peter, *Der Mauerspringer* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1982)

Silberman, Marc, *The German Wall: Studies in European Culture and History* (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2011)

Silverman, Kaja, *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1988)

Schlosser, Nicholas J., *The Berlin Radio War: Broadcasting in Cold War Berlin and the Shaping of Political Culture in Divided Germany, 1945– 1961* (Michigan: Proquest, Umi Dissertation Publishing, 2011)

Scheunemann, Dietrich, ed., *Expressionist Film – New Perspectives* (Rochester, NY: Random House, 2003)

Schobert, Walter, 'Painting in time and visual music: on German avant-garde films of the 1920s', in *Expressionist Film – New Perspectives*, ed. by Dietrich Scheunemann (Rochester, NY: Random House, 2003), pp. 237-50.

Soja, Edward W., *Postmetropolis* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000)

Sontag, Susan, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Penguin, 2003)

Sprang, Stephan, *Hörfunkjournalismus und Musikprogramm im gesellschaftlichen Wandel: Eine Chronik von Jugendradio DT64* (Berlin: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2013)

Stamps, Judith, *Unthinking Modernity: Innis, McLuhan, and the Frankfurt School* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995)

Stearn, Gerald Emanuel, *McLuhan Hot and Cool: a Primer for the Understanding and Critical Symposium with Responses by McLuhan* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967)

Sterne, Jonathan, *The Audible Past* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003)

—, ed., *The Sound Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 2012)

Ulrich, Horst and Uwe Prell, eds., *Berlin Handbuch: Das Lexikon der Bundeshauptstadt* (Berlin: FAB, 1993)

von Moltke, Johannes, *No Place Like Home: Locations of Heimat in German Cinema* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005)

von Richthofen, Esther, *Bringing Culture to the Masses: Control, Compromise and Participation in the GDR* (London: Berghahn, 2009)

von Saldern, Adelheid, 'Volk and Heimat culture in radio broadcasting during the period of transition from Weimar to Nazi Germany', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 76. No. 2 (June 2004), 312-46

Wang, Oliver, *The Medium is the Massage: A Kitchen Sink of Sound*, National Public Radio (NPR), 20 March 2012, http://www.npr.org /2012/03/20/149008718/the-medium-is-the-massage-a-kitchen-sink-of-sound [accessed 15 April 2013]

Warf, Barney and Santa Arias, eds., *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009)

Wark, McKenzie, *Virtual Geography: Living with Global Media Events* (Indiana University Press: Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1994)

Weis, Elisabeth and John Belton, eds., *Film Sound: Theory and Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985)

Wilke, Jürgen, 'Radio im Geheimauftrag. Der Deutsche Freiheitssender 904 und der Deutsche Soldatensender 935 als Instrumente des Kalten Krieges', in *Zwischen Pop und Propaganda*, ed. by Klaus Arnold and Christoph Classen (Berlin: LinksDruck, 2004), pp. 249-66

Williams, Raymond, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (London: Fontana, 1974)

Wolf, René, *The Undivided Sky: the Holocaust on East and West German Radio in the 1960s* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

Wrage, Henning, 'Politics, culture, and media before and after the Berlin Wall', in *The German Wall*: *Studies in European Culture and History*, ed. by Marc Silberman (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2011), pp. 59-76

Weiss-Sussex, Godela and Ulrike Zitzlsperger, eds., *Berlin. Kultur und Metropole in den zwanziger und seit den neunziger Jahren* (Munich: iudicium, 2007)